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WHO is barbarous, and who is civilized? For six years endless repetition established that the Germans were totally depraved, brutal, Hunnish. Didn't they make war on civilian populations? Didn't they practice frightfulness? Didn't they take hostages, use poison gas, bomb helpless cities from the air? The Allies on the other hand represented humanity, warfare only for the right, practiced in a civilized manner—in fact the antithesis of everything Teutonic. As a reminder of these truths the Allies have just renewed their demands for the immediate punishment of the German "war criminals," especially the Gotha and Zeppelin captains who raided England and France. But here comes Major General Sir Frederick Sykes, Britain's Controller General of Civil Aviation and flatly indorses the German policy of frightfulness. "War must be carried into the enemy's country," he asserts, "his nerve centers shattered, and the morale of the nation as a whole shaken. This can be largely effected by air attack on industrial and political centers." The occasion of General Sykes's utterance was the announcement from Washington of the discovery of a new liquid, infinitely deadlier than any heretofore manufactured. Three drops, if they touch the skin of a person, are lethal. A single airplane spraying it can kill every living creature in an area seven miles long and one hundred feet wide. Does anyone shudder at the thought? Do the recent self-constituted platform and press exhorters of loathing at such horrors when committed by Germans utter a syllable of protest? On the contrary—there is smug satisfaction that we are going the Germans one better.

THE Allies, and the whole world, are having another excellent example of the utter uselessness of force. The troops of Foch have occupied more German territory and the "sanctions" of London are in effect. With what result? As yet none whatever. The additional Germans under French military rule are resigned and apathetic. Dr. Simons has been upheld in Berlin and the German Government shows no signs of yielding. In the Rhine industrial sections production is slowing up rapidly, which means that the Allies have succeeded only in still further weakening the German power to earn money with which to restore devastated France and pay possible indemnities. Even in Paris the failure of Foch's move is so clear that the talk of establishing a Rhine republic is again heard. The Allies may well beware; passive resistance is the most effective weapon in the world. If they should find themselves compelled to take over and govern all of Germany they will wish they had let her severely alone.

SINCE President Wilson reserved to himself the exclusive services of a rear admiral in the navy as Physician-in-Waiting, we suppose it is only natural that President Harding's dignity should require a brigadier general in the army—indeed, we think he was rather modest not to have insisted on a major general. The interesting thing is that the new Presidential medico never wore a uniform until last week. He is 62 years of age, and the law declares that no one over the age of sixty shall be appointed. But the White House knows how to get around a thing like that; this regulation is suspended in war time, and are we not still at war with Germany? And so by the simple device of appointing Dr. Sawyer a brigadier general in the United States Army Reserve and then assigning him to active duty, President Harding gets the exclusive services in uniform of his dear old neighbor and physician from Marion, while Dr. Brigadier Sawyer rakes in the $6,000 a year salary of a brigadier general in the army plus all the allowances of the rank. Thus everybody is happy, and only fault-finding cranks like the editors of *The Nation* will point out that this is a bad example of honest graft for the President to set.

THE police of Philadelphia have added to their already unsavory reputation in respect to the illegal suppression of public meetings by the arrest on March 6 of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and several others who were making an appeal on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti in a hall a permit for the use of which had been obtained by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. It is said that the police had been "informed beforehand" that the meeting was of a seditious character. The complaint entered against the arrested persons, who were held in bail for trial, is a gem that is worth reproducing exactly. It reads:

> Having in possession sediticous Liteture and and arranging for and agreeing to participate in an illegal meeting contrary to an act of Assembly in such cases made and provided for Suspicion of being an Organizer of Radical movements and Organization and meeting against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

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FROM time to time we have had occasion to criticize the American Legion, but we hope never to do so on a mistaken basis of fact. There is considerable danger of this now when reactionary "Americanism" is everywhere trying to disguise itself in a cloak of patriotism and seeking to use former service men to pull its chestnuts out of the fire. In almost any mixed crowd of a score or upward, there are likely to be at least one or two former soldiers. They may not belong to the American Legion, and they may be present as spectators rather than participants, but in any case of disturbance or outrage there is always somebody shrewd enough to spread the idea that the action was organized or led by members of the Legion. In this they find the press more than ready to cooperate, and dispatches placing the responsibility on former soldiers are sent out either without investigation or with deliberate purpose to deceive. Worse even than this, newspapers do not hesitate to act as *agents provocateurs*, and by asking American Legion posts if they do not propose to stop this or that, incite disturbances which they later gleefully chronicle.

THESE considerations came to us forcibly when we picked up the newspapers of March 14 and noted that members of the American Legion were said to have incited the mob in Kansas that tarred and rolled in the grass two organizers of the National Nonpartisan League. For at the same time we had before us a copy of the *Nonpartisan Leader* of March 7, containing a letter to the editor from A. H. Vernon, commander of the American Legion of Minnesota. The letter referred to another that had been received from the Legion in Kansas, in which the latter body asked assistance in correcting the impression that it was opposing the Nonpartisan League, to which "many American Legion members belong." Commander Vernon's letter was sent to 400 newspapers in Minnesota. The *Leader*, noting the result in St. Paul and Minneapolis, found that of the seven dailies only one printed the letter—the *Minnesota Daily Star*, owned by Nonpartisan League and labor interests. In the circumstances we are disposed to take with several grains of salt the effort to make the American Legion appear as the instigator of the outrages against Nonpartisan League men in Kansas. We suspect that crooked business and servile newspapers are more to blame, as they have been in other recent mob episodes.

AS already suggested in these columns, the Republican leaders do not propose to drop the emergency tariff merely because Mr. Wilson vetoed the measure passed at the last session of Congress. A similar bill is signaled from Washington as the first important job of the new legislature. But it appears that the farmer, who was used as a decoy last winter, is no longer needed. Secure in their control of Congress and the Presidency, the Republicans are coming out from behind their ambuscade, and according to a Washington dispatch to the New York *Herald*, the plan is to frame the emergency measure "upon the basis of the Payne-Aldrich law of 1909." Of course the memory of the people is proverbially short; otherwise it would seem a little rash to come out so flat-footedly for a measure which, more than anything else, wrecked the last Republican administration. But Boies Penrose, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, belongs to the Old Guard, and is reported as saying that he will "use a little force if necessary" to put through the scheme which he advocates.

ONE need not know the extent of the rebellion against the Russian Government nor be able to predict the outcome in order to point out some facts which have apparently been deliberately submerged or distorted in the daily press. The papers almost unanimously have called the uprising a protest against the "communistic experiment," against the soviet system, against the "Reds." But the counter-revolutionists, we discover in the same dispatches, are going forward with the old slogan on their shields, "All Power to the Soviets," and they have declared that their fight is for the restoration of the soviet system which has been modified and emasculated by the present Government. The chances are that the insurrectionists will fail before the armies of Trotzky; and the chances are even stronger that if they should succeed they would be unable in the present state of the world to restore the soviets to free, undictated power, or to produce a more perfect communist state. Probably they could not even provide more bread for the workers. But these are the things they appear to want. So the Paris émigrés and the newspapers of every country had better examine their new allies carefully, lest they discover when the smoke dies away that they have been encouraging a set of men who are redder than the hated "Reds"; who are Bolsheviki, without the faintest touch of compromise with capitalism or imperialism or militarism.

NOT long ago the League of Spanish Workers sent out an appeal to the proletariat of the world for a boycott of Spanish commerce, to force the Government to renounce its campaign of terrorism against the working class. Twice decrees of suppression had been issued by Premier Dato, "dictator of Spain," resulting in wholesale arrests and brutal violation of the rights of Spanish workers. Constitutional guaranties had been abrogated and the jails were filled with people whose only offense was lack of identification papers at the time of their arrest. Dato replied to this appeal in *Epoca*, declaring that all the demands of the Spanish working class would be granted. This announcement was followed a few weeks later by a message of the League to the workers in other countries, calling for aid in defense of their very existence. The message declared that the promises made by Dato showed him to be a "cynical liar," and that not a day went by without the massacre of Spanish workers, on the streets, at their work, even while they were eating. On March 8 Premier Dato was assassinated.

WHAT the Fascisti are trying to do in Italy, it seems, is to upset and interrupt a pleasant, orderly, peaceable revolution. Under the moderating hand of Giolitti a process of expropriation and confiscation has been steadily under way. Estates have been divided up among the peasants, factories are operating under a sort of modified worker's control, and Socialist administrations have been elected in some 2,200 communes and several hundred provinces. The Government has prepared an interesting proposal for joint control of industry by the workers and owners which is now under discussion. But the Nationalists and their White Guards, the Fascisti, are displaying a heroic opposition to change that not only breeds disorder from day to day but encourages the Socialists in their assumption that civil warfare is a necessary if undesirable element in revolution. Gunplay and riots and beatings are, one might say, the disorder of the day in Italy, and every act of violence makes violence more inevitable.

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AGAIN the goose-step. In the Denver *Post* we read that Judge Robert E. Lewis of the United States District Court has denied citizenship to an applicant because fellow-workers of the latter testified he had said he wanted to vote for Debs for President in order that the Socialist leader might be elected and released from prison. The applicant for citizenship denied having said he wanted to vote for Debs (although such an expression would have been both legal and understandable) but admitted saying that he believed Debs would be set free if elected. Judge Lewis is quoted as saying thereupon:

> I don't say that Debs ought not to be pardoned. Perhaps he ought. Maybe he's been in prison long enough. And if he should be pardoned we will accept the fact as good citizens, without criticism. But Debs was convicted by a competent court and a jury of twelve competent men. The man who criticizes the act of that court and jury is not a good citizen.

This, of course, is the goose-step *par excellence*, the result of a muddled conception of democracy. It is the duty of all to obey the law, including any legitimate application of it by the executive or judicial power. It is equally the duty of all (not merely their privilege) to criticize the law and any executive or judicial application of it.

SENATOR CUMMINS'S proposal for a Congressional investigation of the railroad problem should be put through at once. The public mind has been clouded by propaganda, and a full and thorough airing of the situation could do only good. The railroad workers have three able men to present their case in the persons of B. M. Jewell, of the Railroad Department of the American Federation of Labor, W. Jett Lauck, economist, and Frank P. Walsh, counsel. The wisdom and justice of the workers' contention are increasingly clear. A few months ago the railroads were crying that return to private ownership would solve all their ills. They got the return, and a generous Government subsidy as well. But private management has only run the roads deeper into debt, and increased the deficit. Now there are rumors that some of the financial interests behind the railroads are feeling the way toward joint action with the workers for a return to some form of Government ownership. Whenever a monopolized industry becomes unprofitable, the financial interests behind it forget their horror of Government ownership and seek to unload. A full investigation may well expose the inefficiency of private management of the railroads, the hollowness of the railway managers' solemn pretenses, and might point the way to an effective system of democratized Government control.

MEANWHILE the railroad labor controversy is in full blast. A few railroads defied the Railroad Labor Board's insistence upon conference with the employees before wage cuts are announced or appeal is made to the Board for right to make wage cuts, but most of them have discovered that the method prescribed by law is safer and quite innocuous. They "confer" with their employees, not nationally, but road by road, which breaks up the opposition; when the employees refuse to accept wage cuts, they appeal to the Board. The Board is being flooded with such appeals, and its previous utterances indicate that while it insists upon execution of the letter of the law, it will probably finally grant to the railroads the reductions they ask. And the workers, in the end, will probably accept.

RIGHT heartily we approve this week's drive on behalf of suffering Ireland. In view of the failure of the Red Cross to aid the destitute and suffering Irish there was nothing left for private beneficence but to go ahead. It is all nonsense to say that this is butting into the private concerns of our ally and that it is another clever scheme to drive a wedge in between England and ourselves. If England's troops will destroy creameries and lay waste towns and burn and slay right and left, besides creating complete business unsettlement and much unemployment, she has no right to protest against any one who yields to the humane desire to succor the victims of this dreadful civil war, which has already done $200,000,000 damage. The desire to aid is not to be controlled by any preconceived notions as to who is wrong and who right in the struggle, nor will it wait upon an inquiry as to exactly who is to blame, any more than Mr. Hoover stopped to ask questions in Belgium. It is enough that Ireland slowly perishes; that this last week as every other brings news of bloody reprisals, of death in ambush and on the road, of the midnight assassin on both sides. No effective way to peace is yet in sight. If it came tomorrow it would still be a duty and a privilege to help relieve the crying suffering for which British militarism bears the chief burden. The address of the American Committee for Relief in Ireland is 1 West 34th Street, New York. It asks for $10,240,000 immediately and should get it.

ANOTHER effort to give to one of our large cities a clean, honest, and reliable newspaper has come to an end in Chicago. The *American Daily Standard* has suspended publication there after an existence of a trifle more than two months. In doing so it blames the public and business men of Chicago for their failure to show any interest in it or to make any effort to support it. It was meant to be a Christian daily, something for Protestants after the style of the *Christian Science Monitor* for the Christian Scientists. It called itself "a Christian newspaper striving to serve the cause of clean journalism in America," and it made a creditable beginning, while foolishly believing that the best elements in the city which has to choose mornings between Hearst's *American* and the Chicago *Tribune* for its reading matter, would prefer something else than a choice between the journalistic frying-pan and fire. All of which but reinforces the old point that the American public does not yet desire better daily newspapers than those it now has.

THE Board of Trustees of the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington announces a gift of $100,000 from ex-Senator William A. Clark to perpetuate the William A. Clark Prize Awards, which since 1907 have been important items in the life and usefulness of the Corcoran Gallery. So large a gift, hardly to be paralleled elsewhere, should not be overlooked by any one interested in the future of American art. Regrettable though it is that the Government has seen fit to offer so little encouragement to the arts and that the whole matter has been left to the sporadic accident of private generosity, still in the interval before a better order can be brought into existence, if it ever can, just such awards as these do something to make the life of the American artist less haphazard. They give him recognition and consequently a status in the public eye, and to this extent add something to the progress of our civilization.

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The Supreme Court Strikes at the Press

WE have already expressed our opinion in no uncertain terms of the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of the Milwaukee *Leader*, of which Victor Berger is editor. It is of utmost moment to the freedom of the press, yes, to every citizen who believes in the Bill of Rights and values his civil liberty, but, so far as we are able to observe, it has stirred the press hardly at all. In its essence the Court has decided, with two justices, Holmes and Brandeis, the liberal minority, dissenting, that the Postmaster General has the right to exclude from second-class mailing privileges for an indefinite period any newspaper whose opinions he does not like. The theory and practice heretofore have been that a given issue could be excluded for obscenity, or for such a political vagary as preaching anarchy, or for fraud; but the Supreme Court has now decided that this privilege, which is a matter of life and death to all journals with a large mail circulation, can be indefinitely forfeited if the Postmaster General sees fit. It was, of course, the case of Berger which the Court was deciding and it did not hesitate to show its feeling about him. It affirmed the finding of the lower tribunals that his utterances were made "with intent to promote the success of the enemies and that they constituted a wilful attempt to cause disloyalty . . . and to obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States [something which no one who has followed Mr. Berger's course carefully will believe], in violation of the Espionage Act." But the precedent established far transcends, of course, the case of Mr. Berger personally, for it may profoundly affect the press for a long time to come.

The majority of the Court puts the issue squarely. It declares that since the second-class privilege is granted by permit only after the Postmaster General is convinced that the character of the paper warrants his doing so, any revocation of that permit may also be indefinite if he concludes that the past conduct of a paper gives him the ground for belief—as the Supreme Court declares the Milwaukee *Leader* did—that it will continue an obnoxious policy. This remarkable position is not related to the status of war. It is a peace-time censorship which the Supreme Court thus bestows upon the Post Office. Therefore the new Postmaster General would be within his rights if he suddenly decided that all of the Hearst publications were not of a character worthy to profit by the low second-class rates, that they were subtly encouraging "hostility to and violation of" certain laws, and therefore suspended their mailing rights indefinitely. In view of the tremendous hue and cry against Hearst at the time that the assassination of McKinley was laid at his door, it is quite within the range of possibility that the then Postmaster General might have revoked the mailing privileges if he had had any idea that the power expressly defined by Congress as permitting the barring of the mails to merely a single issue also gave him the right to pass upon the general behavior of any newspaper and to punish it for its opinions or manners.

Now, on its face there is something tempting to many about this position of the Supreme Court, since it apparently empowers the Postmaster General to establish a censorship of the press. The press is so far degraded that many people are hoping for some kind of control. They recall the damnable work done by the Hearst papers in precipitating the war with Spain; the public is aware now that they are doing about everything they can to provoke hostilities with Mexico, Great Britain, and Japan. Why not have the Postmaster General take away the privilege—not right—by which this journalistic pest obtains a service of transportation from the Government at one-eighth its cost? Why deprive anybody of the privilege after we are in a war if the man who deliberately helps to embroil us with others goes scot free? Why should we not have a censorship of the press through the Postmaster General? Because freedom of the press is guaranteed by the Constitution, the now much abused and discredited founders of our Government having realized that without a free press the Republic could not survive, and because it is infinitely better for America to endure license and roguery than that any attempt should be made to throttle a press which, good or bad, is in the last resort the chief and final defender of our liberties. In his dissenting opinion Justice Brandeis sees very clearly where this will lead us to. This new power carries with it, he says, the "vague and absolute authority practically to deny circulation to any publication which in his [the Postmaster General's] opinion is likely to violate in the future any postal law." "If," he adds, "under the Constitution, administrative officers may, as a mere incident of the peace-time administration of their departments, be vested with the power to issue such orders as this there is little of substance in our Bill of Rights and in every extension of governmental function lurks a new danger to civil liberty."

Why should the Supreme Court be constantly striking at American liberties? It was not long ago that it rendered a decision in the Berea College case which, as Justice Brewer pointed out, would justify the forbidding of Jews to assemble on the market place of a city like Detroit save between certain hours, such as two and four p. m. Talk about the guardianship of our liberties! One would think that the words of Justice Brandeis and Justice Holmes would arouse the press from one end of the country to the other. But it is dead to its own shackling, and it long has been. For more than a decade past the Government has been interfering with its liberties, but just as long as its money making is not affected the press is indifferent to such attacks upon itself. When, however, the pocket nerve is touched, as, for instance, when the Government heavily increased the postal charges, then there was an outcry from one end of the country to the other, and the publishers found that they could get together and make extremely vigorous protests at Washington. So in New York State this winter we have similarly seen united action by the country publishers to continue the substantial graft they get from the State by the annual printing of all the laws passed by the Legislature—one of the numerous pieces of official pap which plunder the taxpayers. But when it comes to anything affecting the spirit and soul of the press and its liberty, these editors cannot even find time to comment upon it in their editorial columns. A few, like the New York *Tribune*, are shameless enough to applaud their own enslavement. What clearer measure could there be of the decadence of our press? If it is not true to itself and to its ideals it certainly cannot be to the country. If it has no respect for its own liberty and rights, why need it be surprised if the country regards it today much as if it were a painted hetaera?

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True Leadership

BUT it is not enough to be put in positions of leadership; we must know whither to lead. We must have our minds open to facts of every kind. We must understand evidence and proof. We must have a sense of the larger historical and moral values. We must have intellectual courage. These four things —open-mindedness, critical judgment, vision, and courage— mark a man out as one to be trusted and followed. It is a common complaint that our politicians are destitute of courage of any kind. I do not believe that this complaint is well founded. What is called lack of courage is chiefly lack of conviction; and this lack of conviction springs from lack of knowledge. Men would not sacrifice the large interests of tomorrow to the small interests of today if they had any clear idea of what was going to happen tomorrow. In the absence of any such clear idea, they are content to drift with the crowd instead of staking their political future upon unknown hazards.

These are fine words of President Hadley, of Yale, well spoken to his undergraduates. Indeed, there are few messages more needed today, when multitudes sigh in every clime for the leadership which appeareth not, when no man can vision just what the world needs, when those who insist that their little panacea will cure all the world are less and less listened to or trusted. It is not single-tax, nor land reform, nor proportional representation, nor disarmament, nor reorganizing our legislatures along group lines after the Soviet manner, nor communism, nor nationalizing our basic industries and public services, which alone and singly will lead us out of the chaos into which the war has plunged us. Nor can any group of these reforms produce the millennium quickly. Only a quack will offer us a cure-all in these times. Only a dangerous egotist, or a blind man, will assert that he knows just what is the whole way out. Usually it is the narrowly opinionated who would sell us the immediate and complete specific; those who know that all would be well if we would only smash all the labor unions, or all the capitalists, or keep out all the foreigners, or mightily resolve to be all 100 per cent Americans. Such understand neither evidence nor proof. They have become enraged at a class, or a cult, or a race. Extirpate that, they stupidly insist, and all will be well with us and business.

Again, it is the time to beware of the man with a completed program. Editors are being particularly besought these days to catalogue their remedies for our ills from number one to twenty-five; if they do not the stupid and tiresome old plaint of being shrill in destructive criticism and lacking on the constructive side is hurled at them. But he who would today lay down a complete platform would at once fail as lamentably as did Republicans and Democrats alike last summer at those humbug gatherings of theirs termed conventions. Any editor or statesman who is possessed in any degree of the sense of the "larger historical and moral values" for which President Hadley calls finds himself unfitted by it to assume finality. Indeed, if Mr. Hadley or any one else could see his way clear in every troubled field of human relationship and human endeavor he would have no difficulty in proclaiming himself dictator. No man, king or president, is big enough today for the task. The most that can be done today is to grope step by step. Woman suffrage, peace, disarmament, free trade, a world court, a parliament of man—these point in the right direction, for they are of the fiber of democracy, justice, and Christianity. To limit oneself to them is neither to drift with the unthinking crowd nor to show a limited vision.

Men may be, as Mr. Hadley believes, sacrificing the large interests of tomorrow to the small interests of today because of ignorance of what is to happen tomorrow, but that is unavoidable. Less than ever can we look into the future. There are new and unprecedented situations confronting us; we cannot, for instance, assert that we are but living the French Revolution over again, or turn to Girondists and Jacobins for parallels. That the newer social philosophies and political doctrines sink deeper today is obvious if one contrasts the spread of education as compared with that in the pre-Napoleonic era. The great classes are stirred to their depths at this hour as they never were in the upheavals of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries when labor had not begun to organize. But while we differ from Mr. Hadley as to how far people ought to be able to pierce the veil of the future, there can be no question that he is right that this is not the time for men without convictions or principles. It is well to be open-minded; Mr. Harding was within his rights in consulting men of varying views, but whether he will succeed in the end depends entirely upon whether he has convictions and principles and the knowledge with which to elucidate and defend them. One may have only the knowledge of a rail-splitter, yet have enough to lead men if there goes with it a definite philosophy, a definite chart of life, a definite and sound position toward human rights and aspirations. Critical judgment, vision, and courage are all in order today, but most of all the leader must believe in something with all the strength and passion of his nature and be ready to perish if need be for that belief. The world is satiated with men who trim and compromise and become "practical"—which means a readiness to barter a part of their convictions. If proof of that is needed it is the way the masses of Europe rose to Woodrow Wilson in 1918 only to fall back more discouraged than ever when he, too, began to compromise and barter in Paris. The masses do sense the larger moral values even when they are voiceless. They respond invariably to the man who is absolutely true to himself. Yet this politicians never learn.

All of which leads us to the fact that the great problem of today when governments and their plain people are usually at odds is whether the human character is capable of bearing the tremendous responsibilities that go with the governing of millions. Can men have the power of a Clemenceau or a Lloyd George or a Wilson and remain true to democracy, to the real aspirations of the masses and peoples? It gives one pause to contrast Lloyd George, the pro-Boer, fighting his government in war-time and denouncing its burnings of towns and its deadly reconcentrado camps in the Transvaal with the Lloyd George who is responsible for the bloody reprisals in Ireland. Our colleges and college presidents must ask themselves whether we can so build character that vast power over his fellow beings will not make tyrants or Czars or Kaisers of each one to whom power comes. Many a man has taken office with the courage and conviction, critical judgment, and open-mindedness for which President Hadley pleads, only to yield to the invidious effect upon himself of the authority he wields. It is the readiness to suffer and to sacrifice all for principle and conviction which alone seems to keep the hearts of public men pure and undefiled.

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Rent Laws; Then What?

THE New York Legislature of 1920, which began the year by putting out the Socialist members and ended it by passing the rent laws, perhaps the most socialistic legislation in the history of the commonwealth, has been upheld in the latter by the Court of Appeals, the highest tribunal of the State. It is proposed to take still another appeal—to the United States Supreme Court—but so far as New York is concerned it has finally affirmed legislation which, during the existing housing shortage, virtually takes the power of fixing rents on residential property from the landlords and vests it in the courts. This legislation required a landlord wishing to raise rents beyond what his tenants thought reasonable to take the case before a magistrate; and made it impossible to evict a tenant against the tenant's will except for personal occupancy or in the case the building was to be rebuilt. With one of the seven justices dissenting, the Court of Appeals has upheld the exercise of the police power, in an emergency, on such broad lines that it might lead to as great a revolution in the control of property by a State as the Federal Government has attained by means of the clause in the Constitution giving it the power to regulate interstate commerce. The decision has two distinct aspects. One is its influence on legislation and judicial interpretation in widening the use of the police power. The other is its effect on building. Will it stimulate or retard it?

"The law is an ass," someone once remarked irately, and the opinion has been echoed, often with justice, many times since. To this view Justice Pound, who writes the decision of the New York tribunal, replies: "The law of each age is ultimately what that age thinks should be the law." A fine and historic conception, that; one which rightly would identify law with common sense and common opinion, and would prevent the law from ever becoming a greater ass, at least, than the generation which formulates it. There is some nice balancing of words in Justice Pound's decision, but its net effect is a much-needed and encouraging assertion of the supremacy of human rights over those of property. He says:

> Either the rights of property and contract must, when necessary, yield to the public convenience and the public advantage or it must be found that the State has surrendered one of the attributes of sovereignty for which governments are founded, and made itself powerless to secure to its citizens the blessings of freedom and to promote the general welfare. . . . The conclusion is, in the light of present theories of the police power, that the State may regulate a business, however honest in itself, if it is or may become an instrument of widespread oppression; that the business of renting homes in the City of New York is eminently such an instrument and has therefore become subject to control by the public for the common good; that the regulation of rents and the suspension of possessory remedies so far tend to accomplish the purpose as to supervene the constitutional inhibitions relied upon to defeat the laws before us.

Of course the decision is a two-edged sword. In a country that is as hamstrung by accumulations of written law and judicial interpretation as is the United States, the opinion affords, on the whole, a much to be desired means of carrying out the public will without resorting to revolutionary processes; but just because it makes it easier for any temporary majority to have its way, it lessens, of course, the protection of the minority which constitutional law is chiefly designed to secure. Such guarantees always have been overridden, sanction or not, at the behest of hysterical and powerful majorities. Hope of maintaining them lies not in asserting these guarantees as inherent rights of the minority, but in convincing the majority that they are equally important for its own welfare and for its own safety.

When we turn from the judicial aspects of the decision to its effect on building, we are in an altogether different sphere. The New York rent laws were never intended to encourage building; they were passed to protect tenants from exploitation in the face of a serious shortage of homes. It cannot be said, however, that these laws have restricted building because this had already ceased before they were passed, and has not been resumed in other States where no such legislation exists. The New York Legislature of 1920 had two duties: one, to protect the public from exploitation in a crisis; the other, to relieve that crisis. The first task was accomplished, the second remains as insistent as ever. Experience in the last few years, fortified by the studied judgment of the best technical opinion, proves that private effort is today no longer to be depended upon to construct homes the rent of which the average man can pay. Hope lies in cooperative enterprises assisted, perhaps, by public capital; or in direct construction for sale or lease by municipalities, States, or the Federal Government.

The Pathos of Romance

THE professional or amateur attendant upon first or second nights never sees the audience for whom plays are written; the reviewer who seeks to develop the critical or creative temper of his countrymen tends to forget the character of the people in numberless "parlors" all over the land who are absorbed in books which he quite rightly despises. Thus, wholly against his will, the critic becomes more and more aloof and is tempted to talk sagely in the void. He associates with the sophisticated and the lettered; he reduces even New York to a village by the exclusiveness of his contacts; popular plays, magazines, and books end by merely irritating him like the bad and conventional dinners which he finds so soon as he abandons the few restaurants which cater to his tastes. He regards the reading matter of his neighbors in the same spirit in which, dragged to a "banquet" by some pertinacious friend, he regards the filet of sole, the roast chicken, and the ice-cream. How can people eat the eternal and tasteless stuff and apparently enjoy it?

They can because, alas, they do like it. This is the intimate truth which our mandarin often misses. They have not risen on stepping-stones of their dead tastes to civilized variety in food. While he fidgets in vain for a bite of Camembert or even Gorgonzola with his coffee, the vanilla ice-cream slides like nectar down their innocent throats. And the reason why he is doomed to be so steadily offended by the spectacle is that he leaves to curse instead of remaining to help. He attributes such tastes to inborn stubbornness or malignity and forgets their involuntary poverty, pathos, and obedience. He sits at his desk and writes scalding reviews. Perhaps if he went out into the land preaching a gospel of freedom and beauty his successors could afford to be gentler. He himself, as things are today, might be mobbed or jailed or clapped into an

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asylum. But the very ferocity of such resistance would teach him to grasp the pain of the monotony and spiritual subservience in which most people live.

He should, at least, occasionally attend the fifth or tenth night of a popular play and watch, preferably from a shadowy box-seat, the close-packed faces in the stalls. Except for some quite young girl's here and there he will see no happy faces. Neither will he see many unhappy ones. Rather such as are helpless, lightless, and ineloquent. The features are unmolded by experience; the soul does not break through. He will see again and again an expression of old and long blunted discontent, of an inner irk hopeless of its own cure. And in the handsome garments and too handsome jewels he will learn to see not merely vulgar display but a pitiful attempt to substitute sterile things for vital satisfactions. Here, he will conclude, are people whose entire ethos has forbidden them to train their sensibilities, to possess adventure and romance, to so much as graze the infinite possibilities of human intercourse. They have never, he will reflect if he is not above quoting Browning to himself, "starved, feasted, despaired, been happy." They have been taught to regard experience itself as sinful and dangerous. Business and awkward dinners and noisy teas and reserve and repression and decorum and conventionality have left them with a few yards of fur, a handful of diamonds, and neither memories nor hopes in their impoverished hearts.

They do not want art because they cannot want it. Art counts upon experience, upon inner wealth, upon acute sensibilities; it counts, to use a trite phrase, upon an answering chord. It seeks to clarify and interpret experience and to intensify the consciousness of life. What consciousness of experience can "The Tyranny of Love" or "Candida" or "The Sunken Bell" or "Evelyn Innes" or "The House of the Dead" or "Linda Condon" heighten in the broker from Washington Heights or the buyer from Kansas City? Both are "clean-cut," conservative Americans. They were once capable of all experiences and responses. But a deeply ingrained and loudly emphasized tradition has kept their lives as barren as a mass of flint. Hence what they want is not art but a day dream, not reality but frank and gross delusion, not an interpretation of life but a substitute for the lives they have never dared to live. They sit at Sheldon's "Romance" and dream themselves into a glorious folly of youth which they have never committed, rejoice in audacities they never attempted, escape into an atmosphere which good form always made them feign to despise. Had they but known the thing they would smile at its pinchbeck imitation here. But having no experience, how shall they have discrimination? They have never put the day dreams of their youth to the test of reality. Hence a representation of those crude imaginings on the printed page, the stage, or the screen, still gives them the only release they know from the crushing dulness of their lives.

Such is the pathos of the false romance that fills the world with books and plays which annoy the sophisticated. It is no failure in taste that makes these productions popular, and no educational process will provide a remedy. To have taken college courses in English will not introduce you to those vital experiences which largely make literature comprehensible. The task of the American critic has little to do with style or technique. Beauty and truth will arise spontaneously if he can only break the too rigid forms of life itself, if he can only trouble the waters of the soul.

Brunch and the New Child Labor

BRUNCH, as we suppose everybody knows, is, or better was, that halfway meal between breakfast and lunch, which indolence or impecuniosity long ago invented. The lie-a-bed-lady and the Quartier Latin student alike resorted to it, the latter in pretense that it was a "second breakfast" and hence very frugal; after which he tightened his belt an extra hole and made shift to pass long hungry hours until the time for the one square meal his purse afforded. But now the name brunch has been arbitrarily appropriated for a new repast midway between the midnight terpsichorean supper and breakfast. One dines at seven if one is of the *jeunesse*, goes to the theater, and is dancing by eleven-twenty. At midnight the stomach craves a light repast, say a chicken or lobster salad, or oyster patties, or both, or a rarebit with its inevitable bottle, topped off by a sandwich and an ice, all eaten hastily between dances—or, if there are two attending orchestras and there is no cessation of the inspiring jazz for a single moment, during toddles. And then, about five, nature asserts itself once more—and brunch appears. No conventional breakfast if you please, save for the coffee, but some trifle garlanded with sausages and batter-cakes, and doughnuts of course, as dainty and sugared as our grandmothers never knew how to make them. And once more camel-walks and other steps from the Zoo until the light steals in and the last goodbys are said. Then home to the regular bacon and eggs, and a nap—"no sleep till morn where youth and pleasure meet"—or, if one lives in a college town, to the recitation-room with perfect digestion, a clear conscience, and the happy thought of a college degree by one brave night nearer.

We are for brunch: the more sausages and doughnuts and griddle-cakes and—yes—pie, the better. The stronger the fare, the stronger the dancing boy or girl. How shall they survive an exhausting night's rout without something solid to set their teeth into? For, take it from us, this all-night dancing is a deadly new child labor uncontrolled as yet by unions, either of parents or children. There is no six- or eight-hour night, nor yet a 44-hour week, much less one of forty hours. Between what "society" prescribes, and the jazz-bands compel, our youth is being exploited—nowhere more so than in vacation time. That those of tender age are not spared appears from a plaint that lies before us. Writing to a parents' society for the protection of their offspring from themselves and from each other a noted headmaster writes: "It is our belief that never before have the boys returned to school so worn and wasted by the social round of the Christmas holidays. I was strongly tempted to . . . put off the beginning of recitations until a combination of mild out-door play and long sleeping hours should show the desired effect upon the physical condition of the boys." What is our Child Labor Committee about? Why does it bother itself with conditions in factories in the South or in Alaska when our dancing parlors cry out for reforming statutes? Where are our churches and the W. C. T. U.? While we wait to hear, we beg that no hot-headed radical lay ruthless hands on brunch. In the matter of food at least the new child labor is better than the old. And for the domestic doughnut industry we shall fight as for the flag under which we live and love and jazz—come what may.

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The American Congo—Burning of Henry Lowry

By WILLIAM PICKENS

THE valley of the Mississippi River from Memphis to the great delta may properly be termed the "Congo" of America. It includes the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, western Tennessee, and eastern Texas. The quest of this Congo is not for rubber and ivory, but for cotton and sugar. Here labor is forced, and the laborer is a slave. The slavery is a cunningly contrived debt-slavery, to give the appearance of civilization and the sanction of law. A debt of a few hundred dollars may tie a black man and his family of ten as securely in bondage to a great white planter as if he had purchased their bodies. If the Thirteenth Amendment, which has never been enforced in this region, means anything, it is that a man's body cannot be held for an honestly contracted debt; that only his property can be held; and that if a contracting debtor has no property, the creditor takes the risk in advancing credit. Otherwise a law abolishing slavery could be easily evaded, for the wealthy enslaver could get the poor victim into debt and then hold his body in default of payment. Wages could then be so adjusted to expenses and the costs of "keep" that the slavery would be unending. The only way for this debt-slave to get free from such a master is to get some one else to pay this debt; that is, to sell himself to another, with added charges, expenses of moving and bonuses. By this method the enslaver gets his bondmen cheaper than in a regular slave system, for in the debt-system he does not have to pay the full market price of a man. The effect is to allow the ignorant and the poor unwittingly and unwillingly to sell themselves for much less than an old slaveholder would have sold them. The debt-master has other advantages, in that he is free from liabilities on account of the debtor's ill-health or the failure of his crops. The debtor takes all the risk; and in case of misfortune or crop failure, gets deeper into debt—more securely tied in bondage.

This is the system that obtains in the great Mississippi Valley, and it has not been modified for thirty years or more. The evil of this system is responsible for all of the massacres of colored people and for nearly all of the horrible lynchings and burnings of individual Negroes that have lately taken place in this region. The recent most barbarous of all burnings of a human being, that of Henry Lowry, at Nodena, Arkansas, near Memphis, Tennessee, is directly and immediately traceable to this debt-slave system. The newspapers of that section, which described in great detail the Negro "murderer's" deed of killing a white planter and the savage torture which the farmers inflicted upon the slayer, either pretend not to know the cause of all this or deliberately ignore it. Some of the newspapers, whose representatives saw members of the white planter's family and found out everything else, said that "no reason could be ascertained" as to why the Negro shot the white man. And other papers invented or accepted a beautiful little fiction: that Lowry had chased a colored woman for a mile or more trying to kill her; that this colored woman finally ran into the home of O. T. Craig, the planter, for protection; that the planter stepped out to "remonstrate" with Lowry, when the latter shot him dead, incidentally killing his daughter, a Mrs. Williamson, who stood near him, and wounding his two sons, Hugh Craig, thirty-five years old, and Richard Craig, twenty-seven years old. As we know the South, we should have to be very simple-minded to believe this, even if we had not gone immediately to the section and found the facts otherwise. For a Negro in Arkansas to do what the papers of Memphis say Lowry did, *that* Negro would have to be a maniac; and so the papers tried to be consistent by asserting that he was "drunk," one even going so far as to report that a still had been found at his house.

Let us look at the facts. We should always bear in mind when there is trouble across the color line that we never read the side of the colored people in these papers, and also that many white people say over their dinner tables and to a few of their colored servants what they will not say in public. About two years ago Henry Lowry, the Negro, came from the State of Mississippi to work on the farms of O. T. Craig, a large planter in Mississippi County, Arkansas. With him came his wife and a six-year-old daughter. He was well-behaved and industrious, and knew nothing of whiskey and stills. Even the Memphis newspapers admitted finally that he was an honest, hard-working, inoffensive Negro. They admitted this to make it sound reasonable to assert that he ran a still and got drunk!

O. T. Craig, the planter, owned all the land thereabout. The colored tenants could own nothing, and Craig controlled everything. He hired, paid, and fired the colored school teacher, for such schooling as he allowed. His son Hugh was his farm manager. His son Richard, "Mr. Dick," was a "bad man" to the colored people. He was postmaster and clerk of court. As the Lowry case proves, the mail of the colored tenants could be opened at any time, and they got such "justice" as the landlords willed. Craig and his household, therefore, were about all the "government" the black tenants knew. The Constitution does not follow them into the backwoods of Arkansas.

A few weeks before Christmas Henry Lowry ran afoul of the policies of the debt-slave system by going to Craig and asking for a *settlement;* that is, a summing up of the debits and credits for the two years or so, and a delivery to Lowry of the balance due, if any. Christmas was coming; and it is thought also that Lowry wanted to move away, which the Craigs perhaps knew, as they controlled the mails. And Lowry knew that if he attempted to move away without having written evidence that he was debt-free, all his household goods would be "attached," and he and his family might be attached, too. But although Craig could have "settled" on his own ex parte figures, as is the rule, he refused to have any settlement at all. That would be bad policy; to concede these Negro tenants a reckoning might lead to other presumptions on their part. Who knows? If they can ask for a settlement once in two years and get it, they might come to ask for monthly statements, with bills and receipts. And what would become of debt-bondage, if the debt-master must keep true and actual accounts? Craig would not settle. Moreover, any presumptuous Negro who insisted upon a settlement must be answered—*emphatically*. So Richard Craig struck Lowry

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and admonished him not to come again for a settlement, for there would be no settlement.

Lowry was a man of forty years or more, and being indignant, he said among his fellow-blacks that he would go back again and insist upon a settlement. Now, there was a woman named "Bessie," who was cook for the Craigs, about twenty-five years old, and on perfectly friendly terms with "Mr. Dick." She is the principal in the fiction about the colored woman who was being "protected" from Lowry by the Craigs. She had reported that Lowry had said he would "come back," and on Christmas day, when she saw him coming, she simply ran into the house where the Craigs and their guests were at dinner and reported that Lowry was coming. She was not chased a mile, for she was the cook, and the Craigs were eating her Christmas dinner.

When Lowry arrived on the porch he announced that he had come again to ask for a settlement, and the senior Craig, with appropriate language, told him to leave the place, and emphasized his remark with a billet of wood which he hurled through the door, striking Lowry. And as Craig and his family and guests came pressing through the door, Lowry was backing off the porch as if fearing and seeking to escape from bodily harm, when bad-tempered "Dick" rushed out of the door and shot Lowry. It is said that others also were menacing the Negro with guns. But not until he was shot at, and as he himself claims, hit by a bullet from the Craigs, did Lowry pull his gun and shoot —unfortunately killing the father and the married daughter and wounding the two sons.

Immediately the newspapers, especially those of the near-by city of Memphis, began to work up a lynching by advertising the "outrage," the "Negro murderer," and "bad whiskey"—without one word of explanation or one syllable of editorial comment upon the underlying cause of all this. Lowry had escaped and was caught in El Paso, Texas, on the 19th of January, being traced through a letter which he had written to a friend in an effort to get news to his wife and child, who had been moved into the Craig back yard for "protection." The colored people whom Lowry mentioned in this letter as his friends were thrown into jail, with others whom he did not mention but who were known to be officers of the Odd Fellow Lodge to which he belonged. Two wives were jailed with their accused husbands.

Governor McRae, of Arkansas, tried to forestall a lynching by ordering the deputy sheriffs who had gone to Texas to bring Lowry to Little Rock. The Governor had said that Lowry would have a fair trial. The nearest route from El Paso to Little Rock would lie through Dallas and Texarkana and would not pass anywhere near the scene of the original trouble. But the deputies took Lowry several hundred miles out of the way, down through New Orleans, so as to bring him to the waiting mob in Mississippi County. The mob leader received a telegram from New Orleans to meet a certain train in Sardis, Miss.

We have here a good example of the contempt for local law, and a good indication of the incapacity of the counties and States to protect prisoners who are the objects of mob feeling or to punish those who are guilty of interracial lynchings. This mob paraded itself unhindered through three States; going from Arkansas through Tennessee to Mississippi, announcing its purpose boldly to the officers of another State, then waiting leisurely at the railway station and a hotel, "overpowering" the deputies in the face of the public, and parading again with its victim through three States past the great city of Memphis to the spot in Arkansas where the burning was scheduled to take place. Some of the mob even stopped at a principal Memphis hotel, tipped off the news so that the afternoon papers could announce the exact hour when the lynching and burning would take place, and "celebrated" with a good dinner. The papers announced the burning for six p. m. and it actually took place at 6:30. The spirit of all the news in the papers tended to make heroes out of these lynchers, who had captured a handcuffed Negro from conniving officers. The papers spoke of them as being "all men."

Meanwhile all law was prostrate, as if it were non-existent. Everybody seemed to know just when and where the burning was to take place, except the sheriff of that county. The papers say that there were six hundred lynchers and sightseers from all the surrounding communities. The Memphis papers even had a correspondent on the scene to cover the affair for them. But there was no evidence of the power of the State or the nation to protect, not Lowry but civilized law. The torturers burned the victim for nearly an hour before he died. They began with his feet, sprinkling dry leaves by the handful on a slow fire. But after they had thus burned off all the lower part of his body and his abdomen began to burn, they decided to prevent the anti-climax of a slowly breathed out life; they poured gasoline over all the upper part of the body so that the victim expired in a great flame.

According to the sheriff of the county, who managed to be absent when the burning took place, "every man, woman, and child," white of course, in that county wanted that burning to take place. And yet some Southern members of Congress got wrathy when a witness before the Census Committee testified recently that in some communities of the South the majority of the white population is lawless in its attitude toward Negroes.

Seven other colored people, two of them perfectly innocent women, would have met the same fate in that same hour if the Arkansas roads had not been so bad. These others were in jail in Mississippi County, accused or merely suspected of having helped Lowry to escape. Indeed, the afternoon papers had almost jubilantly announced that at least three would be burned at six p. m., and maybe "an even half dozen." But the automobiles of the mob sank in the mud up to the hub so that they could not reach the jailed Negroes that night, and the next day the governor had two of the prisoners hurried across the State line into Missouri and had five others brought to Little Rock and incarcerated in the State penitentiary. For once bad roads proved to be the best roads for bad civilization. As an excuse for the anticipated murder of these prisoners, the papers had said that Lowry had "confessed" that they helped him, and they told much about his talking and "joking" with the mob all the way from Mississippi to Arkansas and that he had talked and answered questions even while they were burning his limbs off up to his abdomen. We learn from better sources that the Negro said never a word except when the mob brought his wife and little daughter to see him burning. He spoke to them. Several times he did try to eat hot ashes or fire and die, but the kindly mob would kick the embers out of his hands and out of his reach. Even members of the mob admitted to colored people: "He was the gamest nigger—never said a damned word!" All this newspaper talk about his answer-

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ing questions and eating and jesting is an evident attempt to lend an air of romance to a bestial crime.

In one respect this murder did not reach the low depth of barbarism usually attained in orgies of this kind. The mob did not fumble in the ashes for the charred bones and other "souvenirs" as is usual in such Southern Roman holidays. This charming custom incidentally is commentary on a civilization that is trying to work up a feeling of righteous indignation about alleged instances of cannibalism in Haiti. There is no evidence that these exist. If they did, however, it is questionable whether, as a visitor to our shores remarked not long ago, "it would not be somewhat less revolting, in view of the utilitarian motive involved, than the sadistic carnival which has become an approved and established ritual in the South at regular intervals throughout the year."

The Milwaukee Leader Case

By ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.

NO decision of the United States Supreme Court has gone so far in sustaining governmental powers over the press as its opinion on March 7 in United States *ex rel.* Milwaukee Social Democratic Publishing Co. *vs.* Burleson, which upheld the ex-Postmaster General's order of October, 1917, denying second-class mailing rates to Victor Berger's Milwaukee *Leader*. Although the case arose under the Espionage Act, its most important effect will probably be in extending the power of the Postmaster General to penalize discussion in time of peace.

The precise point decided may best be understood from a brief statement of the post-office statutes. Congress has specified certain matter as non-mailable, for example, obscene literature, lottery prospectuses, and prize-fight films. Sending such matter is a crime, and the Postmaster General may exclude the offensive document from the mails by an administrative order issued without a jury trial and virtually uncontrolled by the courts. His decision that a letter or circular or issue of a magazine falls within a class forbidden by Congress will not be judicially reversed unless it is "clearly wrong." This has long been settled law. The Espionage Act of 1917 merely added a new kind of non-mailable matter, unlawful opposition to war.

The important feature of the Milwaukee *Leader* case is that while the statutes made only those particular issues of the newspaper non-mailable which actually were found to violate law, Mr. Burleson claimed the right to penalize subsequent issues of the same newspaper however innocent in character. For this purpose he made use of an entirely distinct post-office statute. The Mail Classification Act of 1879 provides four classes of post-office rates for different kinds of mail. Second-class rates are granted to periodicals which "must be regularly issued at stated intervals" and published "for the dissemination of information of a public character." Since these rates are from eight to fifteen times lower than the third-class rate for other printed matter, it is clear that the refusal of a second-class permit to a newspaper denies it any profitable use of the mails and places it at the mercy of competitors who enjoy the lower rates. The Postmaster General may withhold or revoke the permit if he finds that the publication does not fulfil the requirements of the Classification Act, for instance, that a newspaper has missed several issues, or that successive numbers of Frank Meriwether stories do not constitute a periodical.

These powers are wide but unquestioned. Mr. Burleson went much farther. Although the Classification Act nowhere said that the existence of non-mailable matter in past issues forfeits second-class rates for future issues, he held that because the Milwaukee *Leader* had frequently violated the Espionage Act its second-class permit should henceforth be revoked. His right to do this is sustained by a majority of the Supreme Court speaking through Justice Clarke, Justices Brandeis and Holmes dissenting.

The Court's finding that the *Leader* had been violating the Espionage Act before its suppression emphasizes the bad tendency of what was said with no questioning as to its clear and present danger. "Articles denounced the draft law as unconstitutional, arbitrary, and oppressive, *with the implied counsel* [italics mine] that it should not be respected or obeyed." Soldiers in France were represented as becoming insane, and conveyed from the front in long trains of closed cars. (Dr. Thomas W. Salmon in the *American Legion Weekly* for January 28 reports over 7,000 insane veterans in the United States.) "The Food Control law was denounced as 'Kaiserizing America'"—the same law recently denounced by Chief Justice White. As usual, the bad intention of the writers, although an essential element of the crime, was inferred from the bad tendency. "These publications," says Justice Clarke, "were not designed to secure amendment or repeal of the laws denounced in them as arbitrary and oppressive, but to create hostility to, and to encourage violation of, them."

All this may be conceded without affecting the main issue, —if the Postmaster General decides that a newspaper has published non-mailable matter in past issues, may he revoke its second-class permit for all future issues? Nothing in the statutes expressly gives him this drastic power. In the *Masses* case, Mr. Burleson contended that when one issue was barred from the mails, the magazine ceased to be a "regularly issued" periodical under the Classification Act. This was obviously unsound, for the statutory requirement refers, not to the propriety of the reading matter but to its intended and actual appearance at stated intervals. The *Leader* was issued even when it could not be mailed. Justice Clarke adopts different reasoning, that the second-class rates are granted on the assumption that the periodical will continue to conform to law, both to the requirements of the Classification Act and to prohibitions against printing non-mailable articles. A newspaper which has published such objectionable matter in several issues may reasonably be expected to continue violating the law. It would not be possible, he says, for the government to maintain a reader in every newspaper office in the country to approve every issue in advance. Consequently, an offending newspaper must have its permit revoked until it submits satisfactory evidence of its repentance. "Government is a practical institution, adapted to the practical conduct of public affairs."

There is force in this reasoning, and indeed most strong exercises of executive power are justified from the official point of view by the need of thorough enforcement of law. On the other hand our Constitution, with its Bill of Rights, recognizes the necessity for some sacrifice of administrative efficiency in order to prevent wrongs to individuals—hence it prohibits unreasonable searches and seizures and guarantees trial by jury—and in order to maintain other purposes of society such as the discovery and dissemination

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of truth on public questions. Moreover, Justice Brandeis shows that it is practicable to exclude illegal matter without a revocation of second-class rates, for there is more opportunity to inspect this class of mail than any other. It is the only kind which has to be submitted to the local postmaster for examination before it is mailed. And however desirable the Postmaster General may consider the powers claimed in this case, the dissenting judges hold that Congress did not see fit to grant them.

The correctness of this decision is far less important than its consequences. It is nowise limited to war cases, and enables the Postmaster General to suppress any newspaper with a few articles which are unmailable on any ground. Thus without any jury, without any court, for it is rarely possible to say he is clearly wrong, he can punish by extinction a periodical which ventures to discuss problems of sex and family life which he considers obscene though many others think them valuable. The wide powers exercised by the Government in war prosecutions have been defended on the ground that the control over speech was in the hands of a jury, which was all that the founders meant by freedom of speech. This decision gives no such chance for the expression of public opinion on the value of the periodical. Moreover, prosecutions come after the opinions and facts presented have reached the public, while a censorship may prevent the public from learning them at all. And the Postmaster General's powers are vague. They are like the law in Restoration France which allowed the government to suppress any journal, "if the spirit resulting from a succession of articles would be of a nature to cause injury to the public peace and the stability of constitutional institutions." Such a law is utterly foreign to the tradition of English-speaking freedom.

Finally, if the Postmaster General is to possess these vast powers over opinion, his selection becomes a matter of great importance. Such powers can only be properly exercised by a man of judicial temper and training, confident of the value of freedom of thought. Such qualities can hardly be said to have distinguished Mr. Burleson. Will they be displayed by Mr. Hays?

The New Literature in America

By LUDWIG LEWISOHN

WITHOUT banners or battle-cries, without groups or schools, a new literature has arisen in America. The physiognomies of its individual talents are sharply defined. There is the suave beauty of Hergesheimer and the gnarled roughness of Dreiser; "Main Street is liberal and full-blooded, "Miss Lulu Bett" spare and precise. Masters practices a laconic speech, Lindsay chants, Aiken and Leonard still sing, and Robert Frost murmurs his frugal music. But all these men build their works on an identical foundation and on a common soil. Isolated dramas, such as Eugene O'Neill's "Beyond the Horizon," and isolated novels, such as Mary Borden's "The Romantic Woman," range themselves upon the same ground. Other writers, like Lee Wilson Dodd in his "Book of Susan," though they weary and break down, are intensely aware of the road which they cannot yet take. Our new literature, verse and prose, is naturalistic.

The prevalence of naturalism in our literature is a symptom of both intellectual health and creative vigor. It has been said, often by people who should know better, that naturalism is a mere preference for ugly and morbid things. It has been said that naturalism is to idealistic art what photography is to painting. These fallacies are old, but they are persistent and popular. Naturalism is a method based upon an impulse which is, in the last analysis, philosophical. It starts with no initial preference for one sort of subject-matter over another. It attacks every subject with the same absence of antecedent qualifications. It does not go in search of the ugly and the morbid on the one hand, nor of the superficially comely or healthy on the other. Its voyage is always a voyage of discovery; it is always setting out for unseen shores and coming upon uncharted waters. It may, to use our American examples, deal with wealthy and fashionable people, as in "The Romantic Woman," with sturdy farmers or sea-faring men as in the plays of O'Neill, with outcasts and proletarians and plutocrats and artists, as in the books of Dreiser. What it seeks everywhere is the concretely characteristic, the natural history of man and of society, the material—if anyone must have it so—for new categories and fixed values and useful formulations. But it avoids the drawing of conclusions; and what, for instance, irritates traditionalist critics in Dreiser is not Dreiser's creative facts but that romantic impulse in him which exercises itself in crude and premature speculation. The story of Hurstwood is truth itself. But when we have said that there is a Hurstwood in every man we have drawn the ultimate conclusion that any naturalistic artist should permit himself. Any further formulation does not widen the truth but dilutes it. Just beyond is a passionate but empty doctrinalism.

Naturalism is born wherever the intelligence that is both critical and creative sets out to understand and conquer the unfathomable world. That intelligence exercises its critical faculty when it establishes a contact with reality which is quite pure and quite immediate. It exercises its creative faculty when, by subduing the world to its artistic uses, it heightens and enriches its own consciousness and, through its records, the consciousness of mankind. "Isn't that just like life? Haven't you known just that?" is but a brief and simple expression of the true character of the world process from which there arises not only aesthetic pleasure, but ultimately tolerance and liberty and peace.

Here and there, though in ever narrowing circles, it is felt that the naturalistic method and temper is alien to the traditions of our national life. The truth is that whenever the nation has found resonant and permanent expression, that expression has shared the mood and temper of the naturalists. Whitman feeling only "underfoot the divine soil, overhead the sun," desired also that man in literature should be treated "as he is in himself in his own rights." "I am just as much evil as good and my nation is," the poet declared and added: "All the things in the universe are perfect miracles, each as profound as any." That comes very near Goethe's belief in the self-sufficingness of experience and the power of man to spiritualize all experience. And, like Goethe and the naturalists, Whitman sweeps aside anterior notions of ugliness and degradation and sin. "Undrape, you are not guilty to me, nor stale nor discarded." It is this aspect of naturalistic literature, its deep and austere humanity, that makes it so sanative an influence amid the heat, the turmoil, and the moral malignities of society. To it there are no outcasts; none are disinherited, none wholly guilty, none stale or discarded. Thus beauty and truth, art and humanity meet and are at one.

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Everybody Wins in Leghorn

By EUGENE LYONS

Leghorn, January 22

THE Goldoni Theater in this city was built in 1847, and nothing has been done since that day to make it comfortable. Five monotonous tiers of boxes rise in a straight line from the deep pit. Here three thousand representatives of the strongest political force in Italy, the Socialist Party, were subjected to a six-day test of endurance. For inflammable Italians they stood it heroically. Torrents of talk poured from the speakers' tribunal on the stage. The choicest flowers of Latin invective were bandied to and fro. A furious week of polemic and demonstration, at the end of which the delegates, sadly bewildered by the contradictions of their faith, voted generally in accordance with instructions from their constituencies.

On the face of it the Centrists, under the banner of unity waved by G. M. Serrati, were victorious. They polled 98,028 votes as against 58,695 for the Communist faction, and 14,212 for the Reformists. The party machinery remains in their hands. About 140 of the 156 Deputies are with them. But the first fruit of the triumph of unity was schism. Worse. In the rebound from the force of the break Serrati and his followers found themselves further to the right than they relish. They are outside the Third International notwithstanding their fervid protests of loyalty, lumped by an unsophisticated public opinion with the Independent Socialists of Germany, with the Mensheviks of all lands—a fellowship distasteful to most of them.

Immediately upon the official announcement of the vote the Communists abandoned the Goldoni singing the "International," and in the San Marco Theater began the organization of the Communist Party of Italy, section of the Third International. The task before them was not easy: to begin at the beginning in the formation of a new party, fighting not only the capitalists but their erstwhile comrades; to conquer for communism every factory, every labor organization, every cooperative. Yet they launched the work with fervor. They had polled about one-third the total vote represented in Leghorn, a larger share than had been acceded to them by prophecy, and surely large enough as the nucleus of a new party. Some of the delegates announced that they voted with the "Unitarians" because instructed to do so, but that they would have voted for the Moscow program if they had had any choice—the delegations from Como and Brescia, for instance, representing 8,000 votes, made it known that they were Communists although an imperative mandate from home obliged them to sustain Serrati. The Reformists were with the Centrists, and the new party could proceed in the certainty that theirs is a homogeneous organization, governed by an iron discipline. They were the only party recognized by Moscow; and the Italian working class, they believed, is with the Third International and the Russian Revolution. In leaving you, a Communist speaker has told the majority, we take with us all the trophies of the revolutionary movement.

The self-styled "Concentrationists," frankly social-democratic and collaborationist, although they polled little more than 14,000 votes, feel with justice that the real victory is theirs. Lenin had said, "Put out the Reformists," and Lenin was disobeyed. The "Unitarians," for all their holy professions of unadulterated communism, were all too easily reconciled with a verbal acceptance of party discipline, and the Turati-D'Aragona element, which had come steeled for the indignity of an ouster, is still in the party. So far as they are concerned results are approximately the same as after the Bologna Congress, when they also submitted to discipline, but managed to head off revolution last September notwithstanding.

The bourgeois press was with the Serratiani from the beginning, much to the discomfiture of the same Serratiani, and now exults over the victory of "good sense." Its beloved Italians have done the Russian meddlers dirty, and nationalism is vindicated. The victory of the "Unitarians" is in itself balm enough for bourgeois spirits, but the split which followed is rubbing it in with a vengeance. Not only is Italian independence vindicated, but the strength of the Socialist Party is curtailed. Thus everybody—Communists, "Unitarians," Reformists, and even the bourgeoisie—won at Leghorn.

The Congress was opened with the reading of a message from the Executive Committee of the Third International, signed by practically all the members of the committee. It was listened to attentively out of respect for its origin, notwithstanding the fact that its contents were unpalatable for the majority.

> We have followed in the columns of your journals [it said in part] the struggle of the last months between the diverse tendencies of your party. Unfortunately the actions of the Communist-"Unitarians," at least the actions of the heads of the faction, have confirmed our most unfavorable expectations. In the name of unity with the Reformists, the "Unitarians" are as a matter of fact ready to separate from the Communists and also from the International.
>
> Italy traverses at present a revolutionary period and it is for this reason that the Reformists and the Centrists seem to be more to the left than those of other lands. Day by day it has appeared to us more clearly that the faction headed by Comrade Serrati is in reality a faction of Centrists.
>
> The decision of the Second World Congress of the Communist International obligates each adherent party to break with the Reformists. Those who refuse such schism violate an essential law of the International and put themselves outside the ranks of the International. The Italian Communist Party must be formed at any cost. Of this we have no doubt. And to this party will come the sympathy of the proletariat of the entire world and the support of the Communist International.

The Congress was closed, just before balloting began, with another message from the Third International, in the form of a letter read (probably written also) by its accredited representative, the Bulgarian Kabakchieff. He virtually repeated Zinoviev's words: if you give asylum to the Reformists you league with our enemies. Only the Communist faction will be recognized by us. But he was not listened to, his "papal bull of excommunication" was hissed and its messenger maligned. In the days of argument that intervened the Communist offensive had forced the Centrists into open rebellion against the Moscow International.

As Kabakchieff began his final address a group of "Unitarians" released a white pigeon which circled the theater

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and settled among the Communists. It was a practical enlargement of the epithet "emissary of the Pope in Moscow" hurled at the Bulgarian in the course of the week's proceedings. No Italians can very well misunderstand the religious significance of the dove. The Communists intoned the "International" and their adversaries launched the national revolutionary hymn, "Bandiera Rossa." A speech of a half-hour's length took all morning to read, so uproarious was the opposition.

The line of demarcation between Communist and "Unitarian" had been defined more clearly, more unequivocally, with every argument advanced by either side or the other. Promptly after the Communists bolted, the majority made it known that they do not accept the severance with the International as final. They will knock at the doors of the Communists because they are Communists at heart, for Russia and for the world-wide proletarian revolution. But these assertions lose solidity in face of the open hostility toward the Moscow International rulings and the scorn heaped upon Moscow by the Centrists throughout the Congress.

The "Unitarian" motion, which now remains the expression of the Italian Socialist Party, begins with a laudation of the party record: The unanimous opposition to the war; the great increase of power since the Bologna Congress, less than fifteen months ago—a membership of 81,000 expanded to 216,000; forty-seven Deputies reinforced to 156; 2,220 socialist communes where formerly there were only 350; twenty-five socialist provincial governments instead of only three. The motion then asserts the party's "enthusiastic solidarity with the Communist International of Moscow," and even accepts the twenty-one points—with reservations. The Italian Socialist Party, it asserts, has never had reformism as a tendency and so cannot oust it. True enough, there are individual members who act unbecomingly, but these will be subjected to strict supervision. Strong in its faith in the party, the Leghorn Congress therefore confirms "its immutable loyalty to the tradition and disciplined unity of action and of organization," and declares itself against collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The support of this straddle program was double-barreled. On the one hand there was the intellectualized defense by men like Serrati and Baratona. They insisted that Reformists have never really gotten a foothold in the party, that precisely because they believed in the Russian Revolution they would bring to it a strongly unified party. They argued that the demands of Moscow were exorbitant, far above those made to the French Socialists, the English, the Bulgarian. On the other hand there was the sentimental appeal, best typified by Constantino Lazzari.

Lazzari occupies a place in the heart of Italian Socialists not unlike that of Debs in the affection of American Socialists. He is among the founders of the party, "old in years and old in sorrows," as he put it himself. He touched the heart of the Congress as he stepped to the rostrum—old, bent, gray, trembling in the sincerity of his emotion. Forty years it took us to construct this marvelous edifice, he pleaded with the Communists; why would you have us destroy it now that it is at last complete? You are young, audacious, intelligent, but you do not love the party as I do. You would trample upon its finest traditions, alter its name, and for what reason? Why can we not go on as we have been going, acquiring more power, without violating the great principles of humanitarianism and democracy?

When Lazzari finished he was applauded warmly by both sides. Garlands of flowers were thrown from the balcony. The Congress had understood the appeal, showed its appreciation, then proceeded to disregard it. After the old man, Umberto Terracini took the floor. A more striking contrast could not have been made by the most astute stage manager. Smartly dressed, young—a mere boy of twenty-seven, self-confident, half-insolent, the very personification of the Bolshevik—he stepped to the tribunal. Not a word of regret for the past. This is a period of revolution and we have no time for pious slobbering. There is a bigger unity—international unity—to which we must sacrifice everything, even the comradeship of some who have been together with us until today. Italy is on the brink of the Communist revolution and we must purge the party of all the uncertain, of all the old, of all the sentimental.

Terracini argued for proletarian preparedness, in the military sense of the word, as opposed to the pacifist-evolutionary attitude of Lazzari. If violence must be—and you who talk of revolution cannot deny that it must—the one way to make it less brutal is to prepare the workers for it. He evoked the memory of the metal factory seizures. If the workers who occupied the factories were not massacred it was because of the extreme weakness of the bourgeoisie. "Comrades of the Federation of Metal Workers," he turned to the box where D'Aragona and Baldesi were shaking their heads sadly at the effrontery of the young fellow, "I do not blame you for the outcome of the September events. I blame you for having put the proletariat into such a terrible situation without first arming them!"

Baldesi took up the challenge next morning. His retort was more clever than satisfying. "A terrible situation, indeed," he said in effect, "yet it was you, the hot-headed Communists, who were ready to precipitate the revolution despite the fact that the workers were unarmed." In fact, he insisted that by countermanding revolution he and his fellows had saved the blood of the workers. They had practically won control of the factories. The proposal was at this very moment on Giolitti's desk. "It took fifty-four years to win the eight-hour day," he smiled, "give us a little time to win control."

The Congress by its vote gave him time. And the first task of the newly organized Communist Party will be to wrest the industrial organizations from the hands of its present leaders. The Confederation of Labor holds its national convention soon at Livorno, after seven fat years without consulting the mass. The first fight between D'Aragona and Lenin will take place at that gathering.

Contributors to This Issue

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The Cordwainers' Case—After a Century

By ALBERT DE SILVER

JOURNEYMEN cordwainers in the cities along the Atlantic seaboard began in the first decade of the nineteenth century to be affected by the unsettled economic conditions of the time. The master cordwainers had reduced their wages in more than one locality, and the journeymen accordingly banded themselves together into a "club or association" and took council as to what they might best do to remedy their situation. They determined upon a scale of pay and announced that none of their members would work for any master who paid less, nor for any who employed a journeyman cordwainer who was not a member of their association. Strikes were declared in Philadelphia and in New York in 1806 and in 1809. Both were followed by criminal prosecutions. The New York indictment charged the defendants with having conspired "unjustly and oppressively to increase and augment the wages of themselves and others," and to injure other journeymen, not members of their association, by refusing to work for any master cordwainer who employed such non-members. The defendants were convicted. The Court, in charging the jury, expressly refused to decide whether a combination to raise wages was criminal at common law, but held that, whether or not such was the case, the defendants were guilty because by striking to enforce a closed shop they had adopted means which were unlawful in that they injured the non-union journeymen.

The story of the development of the law of industrial relations is an account of gradual progress away from the doctrine of the Cordwainers' case and toward a more liberal view. Indeed the Court of Appeals in the cases of Kissam *vs.* U. S. Printing Co. and Mills *vs.* U. S. Printing Co., 199 N. Y. 76, recognizes the right of a national labor organization to call and enforce a strike against an employer to compel him to discharge all his non-union employees, and in Bossert *vs.* Dhuy, 221 N. Y. 342, the same court sustained the legality of the use of the secondary boycott for a like purpose, so long as the boycott was within the industry and motivated by a desire to better the condition of the members of the union as distinguished from a design to inflict malicious injury upon the employer. The Cordwainers' case had been pretty generally forgotten, and the few observers of industrial relations who remembered it agreed that its authority had been so successfully undermined that it could be disregarded, until recently it was "dug from among the *causes célèbres* of an almost forgotten age," to use the court's own language, in an opinion handed down by Mr. Justice Erlanger of the New York Supreme Court granting a temporary injunction pending trial in the case of Skolny *vs.* Hillman. Other similar injunctions have been granted in recent months. But the grounds upon which Justice Erlanger based his opinion illustrate vividly a trend in judicial thinking which rightly gives concern to many observers of the industrial conflict.

Skolny, the plaintiff in the present case, one of the New York clothing manufacturers who recently abrogated the agreement with the union, went about hiring new operatives, and as fast as he succeeded he caused them to sign individual contracts of employment whereby they agreed to work for him from week to week and agreed further not to join the Amalgamated Clothing Workers or any other union. The Amalgamated established a picket line about Skolny's shop and endeavored to dissuade new strike-breakers from working there and to persuade those already working to leave and to join the union. Skolny commenced suit for an injunction to restrain the picket line and applied for temporary injunctive relief pending the trial of the action. The affidavits filed set forth that he was conducting an open shop, that the members of the Amalgamated had conspired to force him to shut down until he agreed to unionize his shop, and alleged further that the union had called a strike against him in pursuance of the conspiracy, and that the picket line was accompanied with coercion, threats, assaults, and intimidation. The union replied with answering affidavits which asserted that it had not called a strike but had been the victim of a lockout, and which denied the allegations of violence, threats, and intimidation.

Justice Erlanger granted the temporary injunction, basing his decision on three grounds: first, that the union was endeavoring to induce a breach of the contracts of employment in seeking to persuade the strike-breakers to leave their jobs; second, that when violent and unlawful picketing is alleged by the plaintiff and denied by the defendant, the plaintiff is entitled to the benefit of the doubt pending the trial; and, third, that the situation revealed a strike for the closed shop, which had been held unlawful in the Cordwainers' case of 1809. The first point assumes that the individual worker and a large employer of labor stand upon an equal footing so that a contract made between them may be said to be entered into freely on both sides and without duress. Such a view is hardly based upon a realistic attitude toward modern industry, particularly where there is seasonal unemployment. Unhappily it received the prestige of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1917 in the case of Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. *vs.* Mitchell, 245 U. S. 229, when the United Mine Workers were enjoined from organizing in the non-union counties of West Virginia. But that case applies only to an industry engaged in production for interstate commerce, and in spite of the respect due to the opinion of the Supreme Court, it cannot be urged too strongly that the Courts of the various states are not bound by it and should look upon the question with an eye devoted more to the facts of modern industry and less to the logic of assumed voluntary contractual relationships. Nor has it always been the case in applications for temporary injunctions that the plaintiff received the benefit of the doubt when essential allegations are denied. It is clear that in industrial disputes such a rule carries the possibility of grave injustice, for a plaintiff with a talent for exaggeration can secure a temporary injunction which frequently will break a strike, before a trial can reveal the facts.

As regards the citation of the Cordwainers' case—on it may well be held that Justice Erlanger fell into error. The decision is significant because it shows how the present-day tendency to look upon labor organizations with suspicion may cause our judges to neglect the lessons of the intervening century whenever the old view of labor organizations is presented to them by industrious counsel. The Cordwainers' case—after a century—is still a warning of dangers against which organized labor and the courts must be on their guard. Industrial relations in 1921 cannot safely be judged by the standards of 1809.

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In Behalf of Dr. Simons

By WALTHER SCHUECKING

THE collapse of all the military and annexationist dreams at the end of the war brought with it a profound change of heart in Germany and led large numbers of people to the honorable idea of a policy of justice, which was to find its visible incorporation in the League of Nations. When Clemenceau first expressed France's readiness for a league in November, 1917, he had indeed added that Germany must not be admitted, but even the neutrals regarded that as a sorry jest, not to be taken seriously. The Entente had too often promised a universal league. So when the Treaty of Versailles did bar Germany, and the League was revealed as a sort of alliance of victors, the idea inevitably lost credit in Germany. This development was intensified by painful impressions made by the activities of the League. The defenselessness of Germany before the French invasion of the Maingau had a deep negative influence. The sessions of the League at Geneva naturally did not tend to make it popular in Germany. They showed too plainly that the entire organization was still dominated by the interests of individual imperialist Powers.

Under such circumstances it was much to the credit of the Foreign Minister that he did not let even this occasion pass without expressing profound belief in the principle of a true league of nations. I could hardly name another man of whose resolute determination upon law and the rule of law I am so deeply convinced as I am of Simons's. He has served law all his life in various and high legal positions; it is natural that he should profoundly believe in the substitution of law for force in international relations, through the League of Nations. All believers in the idea of a league in whatever country must recognize in him their apostle. But only a very different Entente policy can bring us nearer the goal.

The scornful laughter with which the conservatives greeted mention of my name is typical of the pan-German attitude to advocates of a league of nations. Each new humiliation forced on us from abroad strengthens that group, and even moderate elements are turning away from the idea that a league founded by the Entente might ever become a true league of nations. They forget that the great ideas of history have seldom found at once the complete realization for which their leaders and prophets had striven; they forget that Germany as a member of the League could win a leading position among the many neutral states which take the idea of achieving justice through the League seriously; and they forget that Germany inside the League would have a forum where it could bring its complaints and grievances before all mankind and prove them.

The growing bitterness against the Entente demands increases the bitterness against the League founded by the Entente, and sympathy for any league lessens proportionately. This chain of causes and effects should be understood; friends of a true league abroad should seek to bring about a change; for in the end the future of the idea of the League of Nations is dependent upon the active participation of the German people. Present-day conditions cry aloud the necessity of a real league of nations as the only possible way toward intellectual, economic, and political restoration of the ruined civilized world.

In the Driftway

IT'S a topsy-turvy world. A recent Associated Press dispatch says that an appeal is being made to the King of Spain to intercede with the United States to restore liberty to Santo Domingo. Time was when republics sought the aid of republics to throw off the yoke of kings. But in this year 1921 republics appeal to kings to help shake off over-fat republics. Perhaps, had Ireland sought to win favor for her cause with the Mikado of Japan instead of with republican America, she might have found more effective sympathy. Let Haiti appeal to the Empress of Abyssinia.

* * * * *

THE Drifter always welcomes any evidence of the wide dissemination of knowledge. He is one of the most vociferous boosters for Wells's "Outline of History." He would have school-children as familiar with the size and distance of Betelgeuse as with the date of the discovery of America. So he ought to welcome natural history on the lips of a major-general. The Drifter read with much interest the words of General Robert Lee Bullard at a recent National Republican Club luncheon. Drawing upon his Philippine experiences, this veteran related his observations of "the monkey in the trees with only his hands; the man, who, living like the monkey in the trees, was carrying a stick, club or a stick spear; the little black man with his bow and arrow; and the American with modern arms. It is significant," concluded General Bullard, who was pleading for more armament to make the world safer for democracy, "that from the monkey to the American, the state of their culture corresponded exactly to the state of their armament. The monkeys that in the struggle of life had sense enough to pick up and use a stick as an arm developed into men. The others remained monkeys." The Drifter mused. Somehow he had gathered that it was the monkey which first was able to *run* that developed into man. He also had an impression that the monkeys that first took up ballistics for offensive and defensive purposes were still heaving coconuts from the higher branches. And then the Drifter shuddered as he reflected what an uncultured race we Americans had been during the first century or more of national existence, when our army was negligible and our navy fourth or fifth among the Powers. He wondered whether General Bullard would admit unhesitatingly that Germany was the most cultured nation in July, 1914, when the state of its armament easily led the world.

* * * * *

BEING an utterly irresponsible soul the Drifter finds life hard. One of the hardest things in life, for him, is to decide where to eat when alone. Company suggests all manner of quaint restaurants; solitude makes choice difficult, and doubly difficult the choice of food from a long and alluring menu. At such times the Drifter envies David. David has watched the suns and clouds of twenty months, and never yet borne the burden of selecting a place to eat or what to eat. The problem of free will concerns him not; his life, clearly, is determined for him. The Drifter would like a ubiquitous parent to select his food for him. If he had never savored *bouillabaisse*, his palate would not crave it; if he had never tasted baked beans on a Vermont farm, he would not rebel at the baked beans at Joe's. Variety is the poison of life; it ruins satisfaction in the inevitable and commonplace.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

The Future of the Woman's Party

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The article by Freda Kirchwey, in your issue of March 2, entitled Alice Paul Pulls the Strings, was not before me at the time the one based on my report as research chairman of the Woman's Party was prepared. I thank you for permitting me to add this postscript, dealing especially with certain specific criticisms which Miss Kirchwey has made.

I do not intend to be personal in my reference to her article. It is undoubtedly true that there were many delegates in attendance at the Woman's Party Convention who were strongly in favor of the three resolutions she refers to; and I had a fourth, which was my own pet proposition that also "went by the boards." I felt quite strongly that the convention should go on record specifically for a fair representation of women in legislative, administrative, and judicial offices, and in the control of political parties and all other organization (even including radical groups!). It is a disgrace that of the half thousand lawmakers at the national Capitol there should be only one woman. It is men who vote wars and armaments.

Although my pet proposition was not adopted in definite words, I have not a doubt that the convention intended to embrace within its purpose not only this but everything necessary to wipe out the practices that stamp women with inferiority. Perhaps it remains for the Woman's Party, by constantly harping on one string, to keep woman's part in all organized effort in a position to command respect.

According to my view, it is because the Woman's Party is a feminist organization and is needed as such that it did not take up disarmament or the race question. This point can easily be seen as to both of these matters, and upon the disarmament proposition is clear cut and needs no further explanation. As to the Negro resolution, there was considerable misunderstanding. The elevator incident is beside the question, but as a fact the Woman's Party was in no way responsible for any embarrassment to the Negro women, but on the other hand it was through members of the party that the matter was straightened out so as to relieve them of embarrassment. I hope that none of them were made to feel by any member of the Woman's Party that their presence was resented, and certainly they were treated with greater general courtesy than would have seemed possible in so large a convention. As to the contention made in their behalf, the whole point was that the Woman's Party, as an organization, is concerned only with discriminations on account of sex, and they were understood as asking us to protect them against discriminations on account of race.

The other resolution to which Miss Kirchwey refers was a bill of particulars introduced by Crystal Eastman as a workable program. The chief objection to it, as expressed in the speeches opposing it, was because of its limitations. It is possible that in some exceptional instances this was argued in order to sidestep the controversial questions, but certainly as a matter of fact a reasonable interpretation of the purpose of a feminist organization will eventually call for a determination of its position upon everything included in Miss Eastman's program as well as many things which she did not particularize. Whether the doctrines of birth control advocates are accepted or not, certainly women, in the future, must have their say in laying down the rules of sex ethics.

The new Woman's Party, in my opinion, though it may be young and struggling, comes of the same stock as the old and has a great purpose and a great future. In Miss Kirchwey's opinion, the stock has run out and there is neither purpose nor future. I give Alice Paul credit for the best that I hope for, and Miss Kirchwey blames her for the worst that she apprehends. Here, it would seem, lies our fundamental difference.

Washington, D. C., March 9 SUE S. WHITE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The article by Freda Kirchwey called Alice Paul Pulls the Strings in your recent issue is too accurate a general impression of the National Convention of the Woman's Party in Washington last month to justify any attempt on my part to further elaborate on such an able picture of the proceedings of the convention. Nevertheless, as a member of the Woman's Party, I hope that you will give me a little space, because I would like to bring out the fact that the Woman's Party as a whole was not opposed to taking up the matter of the disfranchised Southern women, but that many of the delegates were most urgently in favor of doing so. I have worked for seven years with the Woman's Party and I feel that I can present the inner side of the convention proceedings, while I am perhaps not qualified to give such a general summing up as an outside observer. The fact that I was "the one delegate, a white woman from New York, who fought for the colored women," is principally owing to the circumstance that I placed the matter of disfranchisement ahead of every other matter both because of the quality of menace and because I believed that the object of the Woman's Party, the Federal Suffrage Amendment, had not been won as far as the full purpose was concerned. The point I made concerning the dangerous precedent established by unchallenged disfranchisement of any element of women in the country brought the question home to the delegates, and after I had succeeded in speaking to the convention from the platform on the matter, a number of State delegations came to me to tell me they would vote in a body with me, and also many individual delegates, including a number of Southern women, one of whom voted against her entire State delegation.

All new ideas have heavy weather at first, and the Women's Party was no exception in this regard, because they had assembled in Washington, flushed with their belief that victory was theirs and that the dreary fight was at last ended. Many delegates knew nothing about voting conditions in the South. Why should they? Our newspapers, as a whole, are not apt to give us much real information, and the official organ of the Woman's Party, *The Suffragist* (soon to be renamed *The Free Woman*, —may it prove prophetic!), has published one article only in its November issue by H. E. C. Bryant called Southern Women Vote, which merely mentioned the places where they did vote, and none of the places where they did not. The fact that my motion urging the convention to appoint a special committee on disfranchised women was defeated was not at all astonishing, and the vote against it was by no means a heavy one.

Catskill-on-Hudson, March 8 ELLA RUSH MURRAY,
National Advisory Council, National Woman's Party.

Thinks the Allies Should Pay

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Concerning the propaganda to cancel the Allies' debts to the United States: If Germany is supposed to be able to pay fifty-three thousand millions of dollars, the Allies should easily be able to pay ten thousand million dollars to the United States. The Allies control almost the entire world to draw money from; their trade, commerce, and industries are free and unhampered; they own the Seven Seas; they own everything and everybody, except the United States. Their propaganda shows that they think they may own the United States also. England keeps an army of one hundred thousand men in Ireland, several hundred thousand in Asia, and maintains her enormous sea armament. If she is able to do this she is also able to pay the United States. The same is true of France who maintains an army of seven hundred thousand men. Under these circumstances I think the Allies are able to pay and should pay. If the United States yields to the Allies, the ten thousand millions will be used to further subjugate and oppress humanity.

Pillager, Minn., February 11 A. G. BERTEL

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Irish and American Independence

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The article in your March 9 issue by Mr. Lincoln Colcord on Irish and American Independence is one of the few sane expressions of an American view in our day. Its clear presentation of the underlying reality in Ireland's cause stirs a throb, and the logical conclusion is inescapable—we Americans must exert our moral pressure for Irish liberty, or abandon the principle that has made our own nationhood worth while. It is not only Mayors of Cork that are "on the run." Our own American ideal is menaced. The conflict goes to the root of liberty. We are facing the question: Do we really mean to yield up America? In this day of inspired propaganda it is rare indeed to find a writer so clear in principle as Mr. Colcord, and so firm in front. Would that all Americans might see the issue with his vision and face the peril with like uncompromising loyalty to America.

Haddonfield, N. J., March 7 Joseph W. Pennypacker

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your attempt to draw a parallel between the present Irish situation and that of the Colonists in 1775 suggests a remark made by the Marquis de Chastellux, Major-General of Lafayette's Expeditionary Force, who wrote in 1782 an account of two "Voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale," the second of which carried him through New England. His visit to Boston is described with many interesting details; he saw the field of Bunker Hill, and comments on the battle at some length, noting that it was a fortunate thing for the Americans that they lost the battle—for otherwise the British would have seen how much they were in earnest, and, it being not too late for pourparlers, an arrangement would have been made between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and the separation would not have taken place.

What England might have offered us, she has already offered Ireland; besides, there were not two sides here, as there are in Ireland today—we had no Ulsterites.

Northampton, March 10 Robert Withington

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In *The Nation* for March 9 a correspondent says there is no parallel between the cause of the Americans of 1776 and the cause of Ireland. He says, further, that he is neither a propagandist nor a controversialist, and has no desire to interpret history in the interest of either England or Ireland. And he asks the Editor if he thinks the Americans would have revolted if they had received from England such concessions as England has made to Ireland during the past twenty-five years.

What concessions has Ireland received from England during the past twenty-five years? Excepting land purchase, Ireland has not received from the Crown a single concession that was not at the same time conceded to England. Not even that patriotic Englishman and contemner of the Irish, the author of "The Oppressed English," could think of any concession to Ireland but land purchase. Now, land purchase means that England loans to the Irish farmer who wants to buy his farm sufficient money to do so, and the loan is repaid in a specified number of years, with interest; and the author mentioned characteristically calls that transaction on the part of England, charity!

Before 1776 the Americans were as self-governing and as independent as Canada is today. How, then, could "such concessions as Great Britain has made to Ireland" have been made to the Americans? They always had far more power of self-government than would have satisfied Ireland some years ago. If your correspondent will read "A Straight Deal," in which America as compared with England is given a rather crooked deal, he will find an answer to his question as follows: "The plain truth of it was, we had been allowed for so long to be so nearly free that we determined to be entirely free, no matter what England conceded."

The parallel between the cause of the Americans of 1776 and the Irish of today is absolute. And the fact that your correspondent writes of concessions to the Irish that were never conceded, and of the possibility of such concessions to the Americans from 1774 to 1776 that could not have been conceded because they always had more than Ireland ever received or has been offered, contradicts his claim that he does not wish to interpret history in the interest of England.

New York, March 11 Joseph Forrester

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The article in *The Nation* of March 9 on Irish and American Independence represents a great advance toward an understanding of the position of Ireland as against England—or the British Empire, to use a synonym. But it falls far short of showing a complete understanding of it. There may be a subjective similarity between the patriots of 1776 and those of 1916-21; their aims may be similar and their methods. But what a difference in the origin of the difficulty! The American Colonies were *colonies*—they owed their origin either to England or to some other portion of the Old World. Ireland had a national existence since the very dawn of history! The same Irish people inhabited the land of Ireland and used her harbors for trade with the Continent when Caesar was making his reconnoissances in Britain and writing his Commentaries to tell us of their barbarous mode of existence in the larger island. While the Teutonic hordes were pouring down from the North on the outposts of the Roman Empire, the Irish people were still enjoying a national existence under their own laws and customs, by this time purged of pagan crudities under the sublimating influence of Christianity. When Charlemagne was crowned Emperor, Ireland was still an independent state, and her commerce was an important factor in the life of many of the peoples of the Continent. When Charlemagne thought of establishing a school in his palace, he turned to Ireland for teachers—they were to be found nowhere else—and so the learned Alcuin, a graduate of Irish schools, was installed as director of the imperial school; there is extant yet a letter in which he tells his old professor, Colgan (who died 794 or 795), that he is sending him a quantity of olive oil for distribution among the bishops for use in preparing the sacred oils. When the Normans invaded France, Ireland was still a sovereign state, and although she also felt the force of their invasion of all Northwestern Europe, she finally broke their power under the leadership of Brian Boru on Good Friday, 1014. It was only a century and a half later that any strife between England and Ireland began. And then it began through the invasion of Ireland by buccaneering expeditions organized by the bastard sons of Henry II of England. If America had ever been peopled by a race forming an organized state with sovereign rights, the parallel would indeed be close! Besides, why forget history before 1172?

Washington, March 5 (Rev.) James A. Geary

[Mr. Colcord did not attempt to present the whole case for Irish freedom. If he had, the independent culture, the difference in race, and various events in Irish history from earliest times, would doubtless have been cited. But while these factors strengthen Ireland's case, they were distinctly not within the scope of the article on Irish and American Independence, which aimed merely to point out the analogy between the Colonies in 1776 and Ireland today, and the consequent claim of the latter to American sympathy.—Editor The Nation.]

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Books

A Columbus Iconoclast

The Columbian Tradition on the Discovery of America. By Henry Vignaud. Clarendon Press.

La Tradition Colombienne et la Découverte de l'Amérique. By Henry Vignaud. Paris: Société des Américanistes.

THOUGH Henry Vignaud celebrated last November, in feeble bodily condition, his ninetieth birthday, his mind is as strong and clear as ever, as is witnessed by the titles of the little books put at the head of this notice—his latest contributions to that iconoclastic Columbus campaign which he has been valiantly waging for the past quarter of a century; and I may add, in further proof of his remarkable mental vigor, that he is now engaged, so he told me when I visited him recently at his home near Paris, "on a most important work for which I have been collecting notes and documents for many years—a Historical and Critical Catalogue of all the old maps showing the gradual progress of the discovery of the world from the mention of Paradise down to the year 1600. It will be the labor of my life, and as it is nearly finished, I hope to publish it before I pass away, especially as intellectually I do not feel any depression and am able to work all day."

The first of these booklets under review is a treatise "on the discovery of America and the part played therein by the astronomer Toscanelli," and is a memoir addressed to Professor Hermann Wagner, of the University of Göttingen, and Professor Carlo Errera, of the University of Bologna, in answer to their criticisms of Mr. Vignaud's *magnum opus*, "Histoire de la Grande Entreprise de 1492," and, along with the second booklet, sums up and completes the facts and reasons stated in this latter work, which may be given as follows in this statement by Mr. Vignaud, here published for the first time in these words:

"The accepted history of the discovery of America is that Columbus, observing that Portugal and Spain had to send their ships by the very long route of the east, around the Cape of Good Hope, in order to reach the islands of India, where goods much needed in Europe were purchased, told the merchantmen of those countries that there was a shorter way of reaching those regions, viz., by steering via the west rather than via the east, in other words to reach the Levant by turning towards the Ponent. During many years he tried to convince Portugal and Spain that he could do this, and finally succeeded in persuading the latter to give him a fleet, with which he sailed from Palos in 1492, reached the West Indies, and returned, imagining that he had found the islands near Asia, among which was Cypangu or Zipangu, that is, Japan.

"Such is the universally accepted theory as to the way America was discovered. The discovery was made while trying to reach the eastern region of Asia. It was a scientific discovery based on cosmographical calculations, and its object was to give to Spain the monopoly of the trade with the Far East by furnishing her a short route thither.

"I deny all this. I contend that Columbus had no other object than to find an island with regard to which he had gathered information, and in order to establish my assertion, I show, in the first place, that this story of the way America was discovered comes from Columbus alone, that is to say, from him, his son, and Las Casas, who was a friend of the family and had all Columbus's papers, and from Herrera, the great Spanish historian, who admits that he got all his facts from Columbian sources; and in the second place, I point out that not one of the writers of the period ever heard that Columbus intended to sail for Asia, but all of them state that his object was the discovery of the very island which he did discover; that all the acts and all the utterances of Columbus *before* this discovery show he was aiming only to find eastern islands; that in the long Journal of his voyage, he does not once intimate his purpose was to reach Asia; and, finally, that it is only *after* having found the island he was looking for and which he now saw was lying much more to the west than he had imagined, that he supposed he had reached Asia and then said for the first time that it was Asia which had been his objective.

"My antagonists hold that the proof of Columbus really intending to go to Asia is found in the letter which the Catholic Kings gave him for the Great Khan, one of the Asiatic potentates. My reply is that this single fact cannot destroy the long and important chain of facts which go directly contrary to that one, and that the giving of this letter was due to some reason unknown to us. I have suggested that it may have been written to please Pinzon, who was anxious to find Cypangu and whose cooperation was necessary to Columbus. If that explanation is not good, another must be found. But those who hold that this letter shows the true object of Columbus must also show how it can be made to agree with all the other facts which contradict it; which they have not done and persist in not doing.

"If now it is asked why the Columbus family invented the singular story that the object of the expedition was Asia, it may be stated that when Columbus returned and declared that he had found a new route to Asia, he was not believed, his own companions even saying he had done nothing more than discover an island pointed out to him by a common sailor. So in order to destroy this impression, the Columbus family put up, as evidence that the undertaking of 1492 had Asia in view, the assertion that it was advised by Toscanelli, and produced a letter from that astronomer in which this advice is given. The letter, however, was a forgery, but its effect was to accredit the tale. In a word, the only basis for the claim that in 1492 Columbus sailed for Asia is of Columbian origin and is supported by the single fact of the letter to the Great Khan, whereas it is contradicted by all the other facts and not confirmed by a solitary one."

But neither Professor Wagner nor Professor Errera, who is at the head of the Geographical Institute of his university, was convinced by the first opuscule, as is shown by the following letter which I received from Professor Errera recently:

"Even if we leave to one side the question of the Toscanelli letter, Mr. Vignaud cannot deny this fact that the expedition guided by Columbus had, if not as its principal aim, at least as one of its aims, the reaching of Zipangu, an island supposed to be situated quite near the country of the Great Khan. In fact the expedition carried letters of credence for that sovereign. Now, what was then known about Zipangu could have come only from Marco Polo and the maps attached to his narrative, and these maps placed Zipangu east of the country of the Great Khan, at the eastern extremity of *terra cognita*. To cross the western ocean in order to find Zipangu and the country of the Great Khan could, therefore, only mean to go by the Ponent to the Far East—'buscar al levante por el poniente.' This was not Columbus's idea. Was it suggested only by Pinzon, as Mr. Vignaud contends? I cannot here reply to these questions, which would lead to a long discussion, but limit myself to pointing out that in accordance with the demonstration of Mr. Vignaud, Zipangu and the country of the Great Khan were not the aim of Columbus's voyage. But surely they were one of the aims. I stop at this conclusion, which speaks for itself, and repeat a wish which I have expressed before, viz., that the learned societies of America undertake the making of new and methodical researches in the archives of Europe, the only way of obtaining light on the mystery which still envelops the history of Columbus's expedition and on the contradictions of which this history is full. I should add that it will always be a source of merit for Mr. Vignaud to have thrown so much light on these contradictions."

In answer to this letter, Mr. Vignaud writes me:

"All this has no bearing on the real question, which is whether or not Columbus undertook his expedition in order to reach Asia by a new and shorter route than the one then followed;" and speaking in an earlier letter, he says: "Biggar,

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the Canadian publicist, tells me he is going to review my pamphlet [the first at the head of this article] and adds: 'You do not convince me.' In fact he has always been hostile to my contentions. Professor Raymond Beazley, of the University of Birmingham, has published a criticism which, though very complimentary to me, rejects my conclusions. These critics deny but give no reason for denying. I may add, by the way, that I have just addressed to Professor Errera a letter whose object is to show what those who maintain that America was discovered by Columbus while attempting to reach Asia via the west are obliged to show, but which not one of them has done. This letter, I believe, puts the case briefly in the true light."

This letter is given in the second of the opuscules put at the head of this article and the same argument in a briefer form is presented in the longer communication to me printed above. In fact, we have in this letter to Professor Errera an epitome of this whole contention which is scattered through a score of separate publications by Mr. Vignaud, in English, French, and Spanish, whose titles are found at the beginning of this same opuscule. The booklet is addressed not only to Professor Errera but also to the members of the Paris Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Letters, "which has twice made me their laureate and done me the honor to elect me one of its corresponding members," Mr. Vignaud writes at the end of his memoir, then adding the important request of this learned body, that "it examine the reasons which, to my mind, justify my conclusions and then give its own opinion as to their value."

But whatever foreign critics may think of Mr. Vignaud's argumentation, it has met with serious consideration in the historical departments of several of our own universities, as was shown in the letters of certain professors on the occasion of his birthday last November. Thus, Professor Percy Alvin Martin, of Stanford University, and Professor Sidney B. Fay, of Smith College, Northampton, have put some of Mr. Vignaud's questions into their examination papers, while Professor Julius Klein, of Harvard, wrote: "I have had the pleasure of discussing with my class some of your memorable contributions to the literature of the age of the discoveries."

THEODORE STANTON

Political Theories

A History of Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer. By William Archibald Dunning. The Macmillan Company.

PROFESSOR DUNNING has written extensively in various fields of history and political science, but his chief fame will always rest upon his three volumes on the "History of Political Theories." The first of these appeared in 1902, the second in 1905, while the one under review, covering as it does the far more difficult because more recent period, is the product of the last fifteen years of ripe and mature scholarship. From Plato and Aristotle to Karl Marx and Herbert Spencer the thought of the world relating to the state is reviewed, criticized, and appraised with reference to its relation, both as cause and effect, to the actual course of political events. It is a monumental task ably and admirably performed; an achievement of eminent utility and worth. Janet's "Histoire de la science politique," which appeared in 1887, in two volumes, is the only other work which seriously attempts a similar general review of political theories from antiquity to our own time. It is an achievement which is not likely to be frequently repeated.

In his concluding volume the author refuses to trace the history of ideas beyond the year 1880, not, as he says, "because this year is a particularly logical stopping point," but in order "to bring the history to an end while it is still history, and thus save the author from the temptation to deal with ideas which cannot, in the nature of things, be seen yet in their true perspective." Mr. Dunning is not an advocate, but throughout an historian. To the reviewer he appears too consciously self-restrained in this respect. An occasional pointing of the moral of his discussion of some earlier system of ideas or political doctrine would be welcome. Even in dealing with Hegel and the other German idealists there is a studied avoidance of any reference to the baleful consequences of their ideas in the years just past. One cannot fail to contrast this impartial aloofness with the method of Mr. Harold J. Laski in his little book on "Political Thought from Locke to Bentham," which is replete with suggestions having a contemporary interest.

One turns with eagerness to the author's concluding chapter on The General Course of Political Theory, expecting to find here perhaps the distillation of his lengthy and profound studies in the form of constructive proposals or pertinent criticisms, but in vain. His conclusions are doubtless important, but they can scarcely serve as a beacon to guide us through the morass of contemporary politics.

Speculation on the subject of the state, he says, has from the beginning been related to two general subjects: "first, the organization and institutions through which this control [of man by man] should be exercised; second, and more fundamental, the source, origin, and rational justification of governmental authority in any form." With regard to the first, "there is some evidence of progressive modification in theory in the twenty-three centuries" covered by his three volumes. In doctrine as in practice the world today does not admit the principle of human slavery. But "in respect to the broad forms of organization in which political authority may be manifested, the history of theory shows little variation." Representative democracy, it is conceded, is a comparatively novel form of government. The distinction between state and society and the elaboration of the doctrine of sovereignty are, however, the only other notable evidences of progress. With respect to the second problem, that is, "on what principles the relation of authority and submission can be explained and justified," the author's conclusion is that "Greek thought on this problem in the fourth and third centuries before Christ included substantially all the solutions ever suggested." "Anarchistic individualism was preached by Sophists and Cynics; constitutionalism by Aristotle and the other upholders of the *nomoi;* nationalism is but a theory of the city-state writ large; societarianism has never been more completely formulated than by Plato. In twenty-three centuries the movement of thought has but swung full circle. Such is the general lesson of the history of political theories."

Is a science of politics then impossible? What profits this endless speculation concerning the state, if after more than two millenniums we have made no appreciable advance beyond the thought of ancient Greece? Has political philosophy no other function than to supply weapons to the contending parties in the never-ending but ever-shifting struggle for power? Or does Mr. Dunning minimize the real and permanent accomplishments in the field of political thought?

That political theory as well as political action moves in cycles; that the general explanations, the theoretical justification, of the complex of political forces and their concomitant expression in political institutions tend to recur in succeeding periods of history; that, in a word, the history of political theories as of history in general repeats itself, cannot be denied. But as was clearly seen by the eighteenth-century political theorist, Vico, this pendulum movement is accompanied by one of continuous progression. We advance by a sort of spiral ascent. From time to time we return to the same relative, but never to the same absolute, position. There is a real evolution in the history of theoretical as well as of practical politics. Individualism may be the dominant motif today; socialism tomorrow; and individualism again day after tomorrow. But the last expression of individualism is always a different one from the first, incorporating as it does many of the principles of the intervening socialism.

If the movement of thought has but swung full circle since Plato and Aristotle, that certainly does not mean that real progress has not been made in the intervening centuries. And

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with the vast accumulation of data, with an improved and more truly scientific methodology, is it too much to hope that the progress of political science will be much more rapid in the immediate future? May we not anticipate the time when this science will serve the practical needs of statesman and administrator as the pure science of physics affords indispensable assistance to the practical work of the engineer?

WALTER JAMES SHEPARD

New Schools for Old

New Schools for Old. By Evelyn Dewey. E. P. Dutton and Company.

IN a period when all the deficiencies of our educational system are fortunately being brought to light and subjected to discussion, none is more glaring than the weakness of the rural school throughout the country. Apathy and isolation, the district system based on false conceptions of autonomy and neighborhood independence, inadequately trained teachers and still worse conditions of service have all contributed their share toward producing the singularly unprogressive and unattractive rural school so well described by Miss Dewey in the first chapter of her book. Some progress has undoubtedly been made during the past ten years. The single-teacher school, ungraded and poorly equipped, has in a few places been superseded by a consolidated school and a system of transportation; more direct training is being provided for rural school teachers, and a movement has been launched to establish teachers' homes. But these examples of progress do not go to the heart of the problem. Too many theorists look for a solution of the problem in an adaptation of the curriculum to the immediate agricultural environment, that is, by giving an agricultural bias to all the school work and cultivating exclusively rural interests. The drift to the city, which is one direct result of the restricted outlook of the rural school, is due not so much to lack of success in agriculture as to the inadequate opportunities for a broader cultural outlook and wider social contacts. Only as the reform of the rural school is envisaged as an essential part of the country life movement will it hold out a promise of success.

Miss Dewey's "New Schools for Old" presents an account of the changes wrought not merely in the school itself but in the whole neighborhood served by the school of Porter, Missouri, through the broad vision of its teacher, Mrs. Harvey. Her success rests not so much on her skill as a teacher as on the recognition of two principles: "That the children take home what they learn and thus the life of the whole family is influenced"; and that "It is not so much better buildings or modern methods of teaching that are needed as a new spirit, a new vision of the possibilities of country life and of the school in that life." Largely because these two principles are applicable not alone to the rural school, "New Schools for Old," which describes in detail the development of the school as the center of a cooperative community life, should be read by all who are interested in the future of education in this country. Teachers like Mrs. Harvey are not to be found in every school, but the Porter experiment, which was not a hot-house or laboratory venture but enlisted the efforts of pupils and taxpayers, has a lesson for all intelligent teachers and for the public.

I. L. KANDEL

The Safe Critic

Life and Letters. Essays by J. C. Squire. George H. Doran Company.

READING this handsome volume, which was not imported in sheets but manufactured in the United States at a time when publishers are wary of anything without commercial possibilities or commanding excellence, arouses even the good lover of world literature to a mild protest. He begins to understand his more heated countrymen who chafe under the slur of intellectual colonialism; he is tempted to cock his hat a little defiantly and develop an acrid sentiment in regard to the tail of the British lion. For the plain truth is that if some scholarly and moderately lively youngish professor of English in one of our native universities had brought the manuscript of "Life and Letters" with him to New York, he would have made some agreeable acquaintances in publishing circles, but would have carried his virgin manuscript back with him to the scene of his pedagogical labors. Nor, things being as they are, would he have had any particular reason to complain. Criticism that opens new vistas or illustrates a fascinating personality is a bleak enough bargain; mediocre critical writing is commonly foredoomed to the remnant counter and the second-hand stall. It is not until our professor might see such a volume as Mr. J. C. Squire's that he could justly nourish a little flame of indignation.

The forty brief papers which the editor of the London *Mercury* has here reprinted from his weekly contributions to *Land and Water* are trivial at their worst and competent at their best. It took a good deal of self-trust to think such a paper as One worthy of preservation; it required an incredible amount of the same quality to perpetuate Initials. An essay like that on Johnson is, indeed, a model of clear and workmanlike compression of the universally known; it is excellent literary journey work. But it can be matched in an hundred school editions of the English classics. Mr. Squire has, to be sure, livelier and more personal moments. He has a firm and lucid one in regard to the fundamental weakness of Anatole France; he is sound on Pope and on Humane Education, agreeable on Marryat, brave and true on George Meredith. Though he is merely petulant on Walt Whitman and less than just to the free-verse movement in this country, one forgives him for the sake of the touch of charm and insight in Childhood in Retrospect. But at his very best he never transcends a healthy, cultivated mediocrity.

To seek the source of that mediocrity is to come at once upon the cause and character of Mr. Squire's reputation. His is a mediocrity not of manner but of mind. Mr. Squire is at one with his audience—the comfortable, not unlettered, right-thinking middle class. He is suggestive without ever startling and offers pleasant little vistas along roads that are safe and known. He sticks to the familiar and the respectable and excludes from his equipment and consideration all the men and books of the modern world that have power to arouse the mind or trouble the soul. And his act of exclusion is conscious of its own virtue. "A civilization in which men should spend their time promiscuously undermining traditional loves and loyalties by imperfect syllogisms would rot to pieces." Unfairness of statement by verbal insinuation could, of course, go no further. The truth is, on the contrary, that a civilization in which men did not, from time to time, reexamine and revalue traditional loves and loyalties under the influence of perceptions and clarifications so passionately lucid that they must be uttered, would soon be as stagnant as a rotting pool. The greater part of vital literature does precisely that. Hence Mr. Squire avoids it unless it is so old that its values, once new and revolutionary, have long since been merged with the quiet stock of conventional commonplaces. Among the moderns his warmest enthusiasm is given to a stylist whose subject matter seems to him "an incitement to decent living."

Mr. Squire, in a word, being the very example of a safe and sane critic is no critic at all. The true critic writes almost at his peril and achieves handsome reprints with difficulty. For at the center of his intellectual activity dwell the most unpopular truths in the world. Life tends to stagnancy and literature to formalism. To live with a fresh vision is to be creative through reality; to record such living is to be creative through art. The ironic spirit showing up the uncreative staleness of life is bent upon the same business, and a spinster novelist watching her parish from the windows of a vicarage may be essentially

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as full of the spirit of storm and stress as the young Goethe. But Mr. Squire and his kind avoid the deep and steep places. They have handsome libraries and good berths and a kindly outlook. They savor a rich style and are addicted to rattling good stories. They are uncomfortable with Euripides and Lucian, Goethe and Shelley. They avoid Dostoevski and Hauptmann and even George Moore. They love small talents and pleasant memories; they write like gentlemen rather than like men; they can turn out three articles a week and edit as many papers, and handsome American reprints are the rewards of their good taste and virtuous abstentions.

Drama

The Tyranny of Love

IT was on April 25, 1891, that a play called "Amoureuse" had its first performance at the Odéon in Paris. The author, Georges de Porto-Riche, who was even then forty-two years old, had contributed a one-act play, "La Chance de Françoise," to the repertory of the Théâtre Libre three years before, and had also written a one-act play in verse. He had tried his hand at lyrical poetry but without conspicuous success. Nor did he cultivate or greatly extend the reputation which came to him immediately upon the appearance of "Amoureuse." Neither "Le Passé" (1897) nor "Le Vieil Homme" (1911) shows any development of his mind or art. He seems himself to have been aware of the early exhaustion of his vein, for in 1898 he published his four plays under the very appropriate title "Théâtre d'Amour" and made no further attempt at dramatic composition for fourteen years. His fame, which presents every appearance of solidity and permanence, rests essentially on the three-act drama of domestic life "Amoureuse" which was produced for the first time in English on February 28 at the Bijou Theater under the title "The Tyranny of Love."

The unrivaled excellence of "Amoureuse" in its own field is due to two facts: it exhausts its subject; its progression and outcome are conditioned neither by technical exigencies nor by the use of moral fictions, but conform utterly to the native dictates of the human heart. It is as fresh and pertinent today as it was on its first appearance thirty years ago; to witness its performance is to reaffirm and reexperience in one's own mind the conviction that depth and exactness of veracity constitutes the highest beauty in literature; it touches one's memory even of "Heartbreak House" with a tinge of the over-eager and falsely pointed and sets into relief the over-consciousness and calculated symmetry even of "The Skin Game"; it makes all lesser plays seem like the trivial and childish fables they are. Its scrupulous perfection shows up their easy vulgarity.

speciosis condere rebus
carmina vulgatum est opus et componere simplex.

What distinguishes Porto-Riche is his insight into the curiosities of love, into the difficulties of the heart. The conflict between Dr. Étienne Fériaud and his wife Germaine is the eternal one between the man of creative temper to whom love is excitement in youth and repose in later years, and the woman to whom the satisfactions of love in the broadest sense are coextensive with the content and meaning of life. "It is they whom you jeer at," Dr. Fériaud exclaims, "it is the scientists, the artists, and the poets who have bettered this imperfect world and made it more endurable. Doubtless they have been bad husbands, indifferent friends, rebellious sons. Does it matter? Their labors and their dreams have strewn happiness, justice, and beauty over the earth. They have not been kind lovers, these egoists, but they have created love for those who come after them." Germaine, however, cannot make the distinction between a service of self for its own sake and the service of a self that is identified with a great cause. She is jealous of her husband's work, of his very thoughts; she desires to contract his interests to the preoccupations of love and reduce his activities to the feeding of her ever-famished heart. She has her case, which Porto-Riche permits her to state with telling eloquence. She has not had adventure and romance. Her absorbing adventure and romance are here and now. But she makes the grave error of thinking that adventure and romance can be pervasive elements of life—not white days and their memories but years and continuous presences. Her exactions first rasp and then chill her husband. "I suffocate morally and physically," he cries out. "I must be free." She "rummages in his brain as one rummages in drawers." She diminishes the preciousness of love by her eagerness and the haste of her consents. She thus drives him into a mood of supreme rebellion and disgust. Yet from that moment and its irreparable consequences springs for him that revenge of life itself which she predicts. Though all seems over between them, he returns. Nervous disquietude and jealousy have drawn him back. It is Germaine who utters a warning at last: "But we shall not be happy." The cry does not stir him. People are not happy. They are united by the very wounds they have inflicted on each other. Life is passion, conflict, resignation, and, at best, peace.

No brief account can do justice to the dialogue of Porto-Riche, which combines an elegiac beauty of rhythm with entire naturalness and an inexhaustible wealth of psychological observation. Not every artist has mastered all the intricacies of an emotional or spiritual situation because he has known it well enough for effective presentation. Porto-Riche knows his situation to the most fleeting of impulses, the faintest reaction of the mind, the ultimate quiver of the nerves. He knows it so well that he transcends the second stage of insight at which the consciousness of complexity clogs the processes of art. He sees not only completely but with supreme clarity and order. To hear his dialogue is a liberal education in the character of art and the more difficult art of life.

We owe this production of "The Tyranny of Love" to the good taste and admirable courage of Mr. Henry Baron. He uses a translation of his own which is not always elegant and idiomatic but which is faithful and complete. It is a pity that he thought a superficial change of scene and nomenclature necessary. But the very superficiality of the attempt keeps it from being very annoying. The play is authentically before us. And the acting is more than adequate. Mr. Flateau is a bit sullen and heavy and Mr. Cyril Keightly not quite free from mannerism. But both have grasped their parts with great intelligence and sincerity. Miss Estelle Winwood reveals herself as an emotional actress of extraordinary genuineness, charm, and force. The success or failure of this production will give us the measure of the theatrical taste about us. For it constitutes nothing less than a first-rate interpretation of the best modern play of the entire season.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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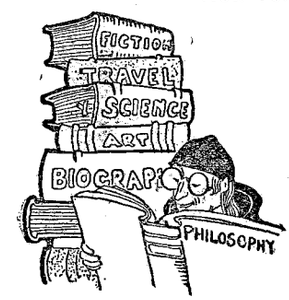

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International Relations Section

Lenin's Letter to the Italian Socialists

THE letter from Lenin, part of which is printed below, appeared in *Pravda* for December 10, and was prompted by certain comments of Serrati published in the same newspaper. Lenin took this occasion to express his attitude toward the revolutionary movement in Italy and toward the impending split in the Socialist Party.

Let us stop at this point to examine more particularly the principal questions put by Serrati. Serrati fears the split because, according to him, it would break up the party, and particularly the unions, cooperatives, and municipalities. Serrati's chief concern is this: These institutions must not be destroyed since they are indispensable for the building up of socialism. "Where," asks Serrati in the Turin edition of *Avanti*, October 2, 1920, "can we find enough Communists to fill all the public positions from which we have ejected the men designated by the Terracini resolution?" The same concern we find expressed in *Communism*, the review published by Comrade Serrati (No. 24, page 1627), and in Serrati's article on the Second Congress of the Third International: "Just imagine the Commune of Milan (that is, the administration of the city of Milan) controlled by incompetent men, by novices, by recent recruits of the Communist Party."

Serrati fears the destruction of the unions, cooperatives, and municipalities through the ignorance and mistakes of new men. The Communists, on the other hand, fear the sabotage of the revolution by the reformists. This shows the error of Serrati's position. He is always concerned with this same fear, namely, the lack of adaptable tactics. This fear is incontestable, but the point of the question is this: that Serrati is moving to the Right, while, considering the actual conditions in Italy, the need is for progress toward the Left. The Italian party, in order to carry out the revolution successfully and to defend it must still take a certain number of steps to the Left without tying itself down and without forgetting that circumstances may very well demand some steps to the Right.

If the proletarian revolution includes within its ranks reformists and Mensheviki, it cannot conquer, and it cannot defend itself. That principle is most evident, and has been confirmed most certainly by the experiences of Russia and Hungary. It is a conception of the question which has now become decisive. To compare the danger of the defeat of the revolution with the danger of loss, failures, errors, and mistakes of the unions, cooperatives, and municipalities, is not only ridiculous but is also a very serious mistake. To risk the success of the revolution out of fear of risk to the communal administration of Milan, signifies absolute failure to understand the fundamental task of the revolution, and signifies utter inability to prepare for victory.

In Russia we have made thousands of mistakes, we have had thousands of failures through the shortcomings of new and incompetent men in the cooperatives, communes, and unions. We do not doubt that other more civilized peoples can make fewer mistakes. But notwithstanding all these mistakes of ours, we have attained the necessary aim: the conquest of power by the proletariat; and we have held this power for three years. . . .

Serrati does not understand the character of this period of transition in which Italy now finds herself, when according to general opinion the decisive battle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for the conquest of political power is close at hand. At such a time not only is it indispensable to expel from the party the Mensheviki, reformists, and Turatis, but it would even be advisable to expel some very good Communists who are likely to hesitate, and who have a tendency to defend unity with the reformists. It would be advisable, I repeat, to remove such Communists from positions of responsibility. I wish to give you an impressive example. Shortly before the October Revolution, and shortly after, some excellent Communists made a mistake, the memory of which is not pleasant now; the memory is not pleasant because it is not just to recall the mistake of those who have made amends. But the recollection may be useful to Italian workers. At the time of the October Revolution some Bolsheviki like Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rikov, Noghin, Miliutin showed some hesitation, dwelling upon the risks that the Bolsheviki would run by standing alone, by assuming the whole responsibility of the Revolution, by maintaining too extreme an attitude toward the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary Parties. The conflict reached such a point that these comrades ostentatiously abandoned all posts of responsibility in the party and in the soviet organization, much to the joy of the enemies of the soviet revolution. Our party papers were obliged to censure very severely the comrades who resigned. But a few weeks later, or a few months at the very most, all these comrades became convinced of their error, and returned to take positions of greater responsibility in the party and in the Soviet Government.

And it is not difficult to understand why this should have happened. On the eve of the Revolution, and in the most acute moment of the struggle for victory, the slightest agitation within the party could have lost and ruined the Revolution and dashed the power from the hands of the proletariat, since the power was not yet consolidated and the direct blows against those who held it were too potent. If the leaders of the Revolution had hesitated at such a time, if the wavering leaders had not left the party, the party would not have been strengthened, but weakened; and with the party the workers' movement and the Revolution would also have been weakened. And Italy finds herself in just such a situation now, when all see and recognize that the revolutionary crisis has taken on national dimensions. In fact, the proletariat has shown its ability to rise and to arouse the masses to a potent revolutionary movement. . . .

Under such conditions the party must be a hundred times more united, more decided, more fearless, more devoted to the cause of the revolution, and more implacable than under ordinary circumstances and at less difficult times. At such times and under such conditions the party will be strengthened a hundred times, and will not be weakened at all, if Mensheviki like those who gathered at Reggio Emilia on October 11, 1920, leave its ranks and if good Communists like Baratono, Zannarini, Bacci, Giacomini, and Serrati give up its leadership. The majority of such men, if they leave in a moment like this, will undoubtedly return to their posts within a very short time, for after the victory of the proletariat and after the consolidation of its conquests, they will recognize their mistake. Perhaps even a part of the Mensheviki and the Turatians will return and will be accepted in the ranks of the party when the most difficult period is over, just as today, after three years of difficult life, some of the Mensheviki and Social Revolutionaries who in 1917-1918 were on the other side of the barricade have now returned to us.

At the present time the Italian revolutionary proletariat is facing one of its most difficult periods. The most difficult task is still before it. It would seem to me superficial and criminal to be blind to this difficulty, and I am astounded that Comrade Serrati can publish without objection in his paper *Communism* (No. 24, September 15-30, 1920) an article as superficial as that entitled Shall We Be Blockaded signed P. K. Personally I think, contrary to the opinion of the author of this article, that a blockade of Italy by England, France, and America, if the proletariat is victorious, is not only possible, but very probable. In my opinion Comrade Graziadei put the question of a blockade much more fairly in his speech at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party

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(*Avanti*, Turin edition, October 1, 1920). He recognized that the question of a possible blockade is very serious. He observed that "Russia has been able to live in spite of the blockade, partly because of the sparsity of the population and her great expanse of territory," and that "the revolution in Italy cannot hold out long if it is not allied with the revolution of some other country in Central Europe," that "such an alliance will be difficult, but is not at all impossible," because all of continental Europe is approaching a revolutionary period.

All this was said very cautiously, but very exactly. I shall merely add that some sort of an alliance, however insufficient so far, however incomplete, would be made with Italy; and to obtain a complete alliance, Italy will have to fight vigorously. The reformists insist on the possibility of a blockade in order to sabotage the revolution, in order to delay the revolution by dread of its consequences, in order to extend to the masses their fright, their anxiety, their indecision, their hesitation, and their waverings. The Communist revolutionists must not give any evidence of the danger and difficulty of the struggle, to give the masses much more firmness and courage, to rid the party of the weak, the hesitating, and the unfaithful; to instil into the whole movement a greater enthusiasm, a greater spirit of internationalism, and a greater readiness to make sacrifices for a great aim. Hasten the revolution, in England, in France, and in America, if these countries decide to blockade the proletariat of the Italian Proletariat Republic! . . .

NICOLAI LENIN

Serrati Answers for His Party

SERRATI'S reply to the advice and comment contained in Lenin's letter was printed in *Avanti* on December 11. Taken together, these two documents form an excellent background for the struggle and final split in the Italian Socialist Party which took place at the National Congress at Leghorn in January.

DEAR COMRADE LENIN:

I already told you at the Congress of Moscow—in a general address—how difficult and painful it is for a modest comrade like myself and like a large number of the delegates at the Congress, to enter into discussion with you. Difficult, because you who willed and made the Revolution and defend it with firmness and sagacity against a world of enemies, are surrounded by the most potent sources of information. Painful, because discussion may appear to ingenuous minds to imply antagonism, and may furnish a pretext to the enemies of the proletariat for false and unjust interpretations injurious to the international proletarian revolution, while I have never felt so strongly revolutionary, so filled with the consciousness of the necessity of the final step as now, when so much discussion is before me.

However, I shall fulfil a pressing duty which is on my conscience by trying to overcome the difficulty and painfulness. . . .

"Can the reformists be kept in the party?"

Allow me to reply to this question of yours by another: "Who are the reformists?"

If—as it seems from your letter—the reformists are those who desire the cooperation of classes, and the sharing of power with the bourgeoisie, who carry on counter-revolutionary activities and might, when the time comes, change into Scheidemanns and Noskes of Italy, you are right, and I agree with you on their expulsion.

But these "reformists" were expelled from our party at the previous Congress of Reggio Emilia, and they are now quite separated from us. The real reformists—Turati, Treves, Modigliani, and others whose policy I do not approve of and do not defend, whose errors in tactics I have fought against tenaciously from the start—are the ones who have defended the Russian Revolution in Parliament, and who were responsible for its de facto recognition. They are the ones to whom one of your Italian representatives, Engineer Vodovosov turned, two months ago on behalf of your government, asking them to intervene in the name of the Parliamentary group with Giolitti to obtain certain concessions. And it was our group that opposed such soliciting! They are the ones who only yesterday were assailed by the reaction for their defense of our party and who bore the burdens of the whole group, even of the "pure" Communists, and spoke also in their name, and won their applause. Nor do I know of a single case when the voice of a Communist deputy was raised in the Italian Parliament more ardently than theirs, or when any measures were proposed that were more in keeping with the program of the Third International than were theirs. This has never happened. Not once.

But, I repeat, I am not for a moment attempting to defend the men whom you call reformists. I am looking further ahead than that. My mind is fixed on the party, on the proletariat, on the revolution. . . .

You say that I fear a split because it would break up the party, the unions, the cooperatives, the municipalities. No, comrade, I fear a split because in compromising the development of these institutions it would compromise the success of the revolution, both in the destructive phase and more especially in the constructive phase.

The lack of men in our party, which I feel to be very serious, does not concern me so much because of natural errors in administration and organization, errors which are deplorable but nevertheless inevitable, and at such a time amendable; I am concerned with revolutionary errors, which may be decisive in a critical period. We have seen it in the recent events of Bologna, where a man more conscious of his own responsibility might have mastered the difficult and unhappy situation.

Nor is there contrast or opposition between my anxiety to save the proletariat organisms and yours to save the revolution. They belong together. They are one and the same thing. There is no possibility of revolutionary action if the strength of our institutions is not kept united and compact. To feel completely driven by this unitary passion, to make it the aim of our own activity—while our enemies are stirred up in the flames of discord—does not mean, Comrade Lenin, going to the Right. It means staying at our posts, fulfilling our own duty, however bitter it may be. An opportunist would not stay firm, in my opinion, at all. And I add that if it should become necessary, in order to save the proletarian revolution and my party, to take some steps to the Right—and you yourself admit such a possibility—I should have the courage to do that also. . . .

If I were in complete agreement with you, or rather with those who keep you supplied with an interpretation of the actual period through which Italy is passing, that is, if I were persuaded like you that the problem of the revolution in Italy is only a problem of leadership, that all the necessary elements exist with the exception of the right men for immediate action, I should not hesitate to declare myself in agreement with you on the need for driving out of the party, not only the reformists, but even the hesitating communists.

But, in this argument, the difference lies not only in the ranks of the Right or in our ranks: the difference exists also among the "pure" Communists, so much so that while some of them actually believe that what is keeping the revolution back from its destined road is the beard of Modigliani, there are others who do not share in such narrow and childish conceptions. Few of them, moreover, I believe, agree with you on the aid that might come to the Italian revolution, aside from a revolution in Central Europe, through revolutions in England, France, and the United States which, according to you, ought to be hastened.

There are, then, hesitaters even in the ranks of the "pure" Communists!

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I am also informed, dear Comrade, of what happened at the time of the Bolshevik October Revolution, when you were fighting stubbornly against those who did not have faith in the success of the revolution, and, at the critical moment, ostentatiously resigned from all the public posts. And I know that at that time you wrote against Zinoviev in such a way as this: "I have known Gregory Zinoviev for many years; I always believed he was not up to the mark, but I never thought he was rotten." You sometimes make such biting remarks; but your judgment did not prevent your friend from becoming, later on, president of the Third International! Which signifies that there are opinions which only hold good at the time they are spoken, and do not offend because they are prompted by a deep affection for the common cause. Who knows but some day you may change your judgment of us! . . .

And now we come to a somewhat difficult argument. You say that the Italian proletariat is facing one of the most difficult periods, and that it would be superficial and criminal to be blind to this difficulty, and you reprove me because I published in *Communism* an article which was not mine, but by P. K., in which an attempt was made to give a less pessimistic version of the actual Italian situation. All who know our work know that while these difficulties cannot keep us from fulfilling our duty we have constantly pointed out to our comrades and to the proletariat the need for serenely and courageously considering all the obstacles which the revolution will meet on its path. But in Italy, to carry out this task of courageous estimation of our strength, means to be sneered at. And to point out the serious mistakes made by your revolution, and admitted by you, in order to avoid them, means to be shouted down as counter-revolutionists. And to expound the difficulties you have passed through, without criticizing, but as a help and example, means to be accused of slandering the revolution—so great is the superstitious infatuation of some comrades, filled as they may be with the highest sentiments, but lacking a true conception of the Socialist attitude.

And you now repeat to us what you wrote so opportunely in October, 1919, that "a blockade of Italy by France, England, and the United States, if the proletariat is victorious, is not only possible, but very probable." We feel the same way, as we have written many times, and we also agree that in spite of the possibility of a terrible blockade we must act in the same way, even without waiting for possible aid from outside. But doesn't it seem to you—after this calm survey of the facts—that you contradict yourself when you speak of hastening the revolution in England and France?

We know the international situation perhaps as well as you, at least in so far as the western countries are concerned, and we know only too well that the Communist parties there have not influence enough to arouse the masses in aid of a foreign revolution. The betrayal of July 20-21 showed us that.

In England, notwithstanding the Moscow decisions, unity among the Communists is far from complete, and the forces of the nine different groups are anything but capable of inspiring their adversaries with fear. They hardly have fifty thousand members; they have not a single daily paper and their weeklies are barely holding up even with your aid.

In France the party—with the "ifs," "buts," and "perhapses" of Frossard—may adhere to the Third International, but it would be vain to expect any decisive action from it in support of us or of others, considering its lack of numerical and political strength, and the completely reactionary character of its national politics.

In the United States things are no better. Unity between the different groups has not yet been attained and they are totally ineffective as compared with the power of our syndical movement and the violent reaction which has been so pronounced for many years among our comrades here. I do not believe that they are strong enough today to permit even the most distant hope of a revolutionary movement. The news from that side of the Atlantic is anything but encouraging.

The countries of the former Central Empire—even where the conflict is raging, and the consequent crises give hope for more rapid advances in revolutionary progress—are passing through a period of stagnation if not of actual retrogression.

I do not speak of Hungary, where the movement was defeated not so much because of the attitude of the Social Democrats, as because of certain purely Marxian causes, as Trotzky has pointed out, and where it has been superseded by a reaction which is tenaciously raging against our comrades there. But in Austria, even in Germany, where you rightly succeeded in blocking the Independents, the situation is no more revolutionary today than it was yesterday. Everywhere the bourgeoisie is raising its head, organizing, taking advantage of our own movement to obtain amnesty from the foreign enemy, and opposing its organized force against the enemy at home. Bolshevism has increased nationalism. In Bavaria restoration is openly discussed, and to some extent in Germany.

Perhaps in the Balkan countries—suffering more than any others from the post-war crises—there existed until quite recently a considerable proletarian and revolutionary movement sufficient to justify hopes for united action. But even there, reaction has sprung up. In Rumania, in Bulgaria, in Jugoslavia, things have changed considerably, and furthermore, it is not from countries that are so poor in raw materials and agriculture and industrial products that our country can expect any kind of a restoration in case of a revolution.

As for the north countries, the economic, moral, and political conditions there are such that I do not believe that you can be under any illusion regarding a relatively imminent proletariat uprising there.

In this international situation, the only country, besides Russia, which finds itself in socialistically advantageous conditions for struggling against the bourgeoisie is Italy. Here, even though "victorious" the country is suffering the economic, political, and moral torments of a conquered nation. Here more than anywhere else is crisis, trouble, and irritation. Here we have a political preparation of the masses, with a proportional economic organization, better than that in any other country. Our party has 250,000 members, 150 deputies in the Chamber, and 2,500 communes. The economic organizations of resistance include two and a half million more supporters. The cooperatives, which are under our control, number a thousand. We have the land and the materials for reconstruction. The great majority of our comrades are free from any antagonism arising from the two schools of thought; rather, they are united by a single conscious ideal—of immediate conquest and revolution.

How can any one think that by spreading ideas of separation within this essentially creative and harmonious group, revolutionary work can be accomplished? How can any one believe that the "pure" Communists, when once they are separated from the majority of the party, can be the impetus to action? But do you actually think that Turati and D'Aragona are enough to stop the coming of the revolution? Such a conception is strangely superstitious and anti-Marxian.

Revolution is not a magic act performed by this or that leader, even though the personal element has its own value. Revolution is a combination of various circumstances and multiple elements which accumulate and, at the historic moment, develop into the solution of a crisis which is firmly rooted in an economic background. To believe that the "pure" Communists will make a revolution as soon as they are freed from Modigliani or Turati, and to state such a belief, is to underestimate the significance of the revolution, spreading among the masses those superstitious and loose prejudices which are so destructive to our movement, and which you have so often warned us to avoid and to combat.

These are things which our masses, who have a keen intelligence and a highly developed critical sense, understand to perfection.

G. M. Serrati

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The Line-up of the Factions in Italy

DURING the months preceding the National Congress of the Socialist Party at Leghorn, the various divisions and groups within the party met and adopted declarations of principles and policy which were afterward made the basis for the struggle for domination fought out at Leghorn. The Socialist Concentration Group at its convention last fall at Reggio Emilia adopted the following resolutions:

. . . The situation produced in these last days in the Socialist Party makes it the duty of every member to give full expression to his own opinion, so that the coming National Congress of the party will be strengthened by a clarification of ideas, aims, and program.

The Concentration Group declares itself to be resolutely for unity and opposed to every split, so much the worse if provoked by personal antagonisms and not by substantial differences on the fundamental principles of socialism, and so much the more dangerous and harmful at this moment for the coming of the proletarian revolution. Differences in analyzing the historic period through which we are now passing are not a sufficient motive for separation; the various opinions of the socialist schools which have always existed in the party—as the extensive development of the past has shown—will still permit a fraternal collaboration, more fertile of results as a greater degree of reciprocal respect is shown by each group, as well as a common desire to insure liberty of judgment in every situation and to maintain the strictest discipline through the many stages in the development of the class struggle.

The Concentration Group confirms the adherence of the party to the Third International, asserting that liberty in interpreting and determining the application of the twenty-one points equal to that permitted in other countries should be allowed, and strongly upholding the exclusion of anarchist and syndicalist groups and of the Massoni elements from the sections of the International.

The Concentration Group has no preconceptions regarding the historical advent of socialism and the means to be employed for its definite triumph. The dictatorship of the proletariat, understood in the Marxian sense, is a transitory necessity imposed by special situations and not a rigid obligation, and this is not denied by the Concentration Group, but such dictatorship must not, cannot be modeled for all countries on that of a single one; and it would be a grave error to try to proscribe for democratically developed peoples who are not suffering under an arbitrary rule, laws or systems considered useful and necessary for other nations.

The Concentration Group does not condemn the use of violence or of illegal methods in the class struggle and for the conquest of political power. The historic transitions of such power from one class to another are the final results of the clashing of opposing forces. The use of violence in completing such a transition is not to be questioned, although it cannot be the ultimate force of the proletariat against the blind resistance and opposition of the bourgeois classes, but only an agent in the destruction of a social organization which is incompatible with the new economy and with new methods of production.

The Concentration Group holds that the war, through its very inability to accomplish the aim for which it was waged, has accelerated the fall of the capitalist regime and rendered more urgent for the proletariat the solution of the problems on which the revolutionary attainment of socialist power depends.

Such a revolutionary period has been even more accentuated since the fall of the Czar's regime and since the Peace of Versailles, which sanctions the domination of the strong states over the weaker ones. But it would be childish to assert that this revolutionary period has reached its most acute phase throughout the world, and that a crisis in the richest capitalist countries can be expected within a short time. And the Concentration Group maintains that the revolution in Italy in the violent and destructive form desired by the extremists, with the immediate formation of a soviet order of the Russian type, would be destined to fall within a brief time, lacking during the inevitable disorder the harmonious economic and political action of the proletariat of a richer country.

The Group of Socialist Concentrationists upholds all possible attempts to attain the Socialist regime. When the time comes, the party does not renounce the conquest of political power in the form consistent with the internal situation, and making use of the strength of all the syndical groups which act in full accord with the party and are completely independent of any other party or democratic organ of the bourgeoisie.

The group of Socialist Concentrationists pledges its own members to support the provisions of this declaration in the section assemblies and at the coming National Congress, confident that they will hasten the approach of the next revolutionary period, which will be more intense and more real in the socialist sense, and which has been foreseen and desired by all.

[Signed] BALDESI
D'ARAGONA

The Unitary Communists, who finally won a majority at the Leghorn Congress, adopted at a meeting on November 20 the following preliminary resolutions:

The Unitary-Communist Socialists, convened at Florence November 20-21, 1920; considering:

1. That the Italian Socialist Party through its political and economic organizations not only is the strongest and the most united political party in Italy, but has already conquered considerable political power held by its many and varied organs of continuous activities, through which it alone can assure to the proletariat the overthrow of the bourgeois regime and reconstruction through the establishment of a communist order;

2. That the Italian Socialist Party, with all its units and in all its tendencies unanimously opposed the bourgeois war, to such an extent that not one of its fighters shared any responsibility in it, so that even during the world conflict the Italian Socialist Party, through the conferences at Lugano, Zimmerwald, and Kienthal, initiated the work of the reconstruction of the International, in accord with ardent but small groups from other countries;

3. That, after the Congress of Reggio, in 1912 (expulsion of the Reformists) and the Congress of Ancona in 1914 (expulsion of the "Massoni"), the revolutionary and absolutely irreconcilable tendency has completely dominated our party, advancing beyond the groups of the Right and the federated syndical organizations, subjecting the former to severe discipline, and forming an alliance with the latter;

4. That the economic and political conquests of recent times, though they may have been determined by contingent circumstances and events, have clearly shown that the time has come for the ultimate communist victory:

5. Declares the necessity of maintaining united the membership of the party in order to attain more rapidly and effectively the revolutionary aim of our action.

* * * * *

Regarding the relations with the Third Communist International of Moscow; considering:

1. That the Italian Socialist Party has from the first adhered to the Third International, and entered it with its banner unfurled;

2. That it has strenuously supported and defended the Russian Revolution against the bourgeois state, fixing upon it all its hopes and dedicating to it its best energies;

3. That immediately after the war the Italian Socialist Party felt spontaneously the need of changing its constitution and passed at the Congress of Bologna a resolution accepting

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the guiding opinions of the new International, agreeing, among other things, to the principles of the Communist Manifesto, such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, the need for violence, the opposition of communist institutions to democratic institutions, etc., etc., in accordance with the methods and aims of the Third International:

Declares that consequently it accepts in their entirety the twenty-one points of Moscow, adding to them a twenty-second on the exclusion of the "Massoni" from the Third International.

* * * * *

Finally, respecting the interpretation of the twenty-one points, and the practices resulting therefrom; declares:

1. That the twenty-one points should be interpreted and applied according to the actual conditions existing in our country, as the Executive Committee of Moscow therein admits, and practices with other countries according to the judgment of the Executive Committee;

2. That the concept of the nation and all national aims have now given way to the concept and aims of the International, which cannot be disregarded without prejudicing the interests of the class struggle and the proletariat;

3. That the relations between the units of the Third International must be open and frank, and be negotiated through responsible agents and without secret diplomacy;

4. That every method of conquest may be adopted, within the limits of the most complete irreconcilability of classes, and always in keeping with the aim of the communist revolution, for which the party needs to unite its political action with the economic action of the syndical groups;

And therefore proposes:

1. That the Italian Socialist Party be strengthened by a greater centralization, so that each single member or unit shall subject its own actions to the general interest and to the integral result, and this applies also to the control of activity in the intellectual and propaganda fields;

2. That in face of organized and economic resistance, preference shall be given in thought and action to political questions over all other contingent and syndical questions, with the complete subordination of the economic and syndical movements to the political party;

3. That legal and extra-legal methods of preparation shall be adopted, whether for organizing means of education and progress, and machinery for revolutionary conquest, or for establishing substitutional organs;

4. That the Italian Socialist Party shall adopt the name of "Italian Socialist Communist Party, Section of the Third Internationale."

[Signed] ALESSANDRI, CORSI, BARATONO, BACCI, FROLA, MODIGLIANI, SMORTI, SERRATI, VELLA.

The group of Revolutionary Extremists stated their position and their attitude toward the Reformists in the following terms:

We are divided from the Reformists as follows:

I. In the doctrinal field:

1. Our rigid conception of the class struggle is the Marxian and Unitarian conception of the political struggle in relation to the economic conflict, through which we hold that as in the economic field a revolutionary meaning attributed to the conquest of better conditions is inconceivable, so in the political field, those reforms to which the bourgeoisie accedes under the pressure of the proletarian movement, in an effort for transformation and progress, cannot be said to attack the existing system; therefore, the conquest of such reforms has for us no value in itself, except in so far as it is instrumental in strengthening the class action which has determined it, and so much the less do we admit that it has such great value as to justify, in order to attain it, deviations and compromises by the party or a letting down in the rigor of the class struggle.

2. We hold that the process of socialist change cannot by gradual and progressive evolution make any rapid progress, but that there are periods of revolutionary crisis in which not only is revealed the sudden maturity of events which have been developing slowly and imperceptibly during preceding periods, but also in the particular revolutionary atmosphere new germs are formed, new developments occur rapidly; in other words we believe in the revolution not only as the final, exterior, and almost superfluous conclusion of a cycle now entirely completed, but as an intimate and dynamic contribution to social transformation.

II. Correlatively and as a necessary consequence in the tactical and practical field:

1. We give a different value to the historic function of the party, which for us is quite logical, in the Marxian sense, and is critical and destructive of the present society; we hold that it is the duty of the Socialist Party constantly to call the attention of the proletarian masses (who with a less defined political consciousness are acting on the basis of the class struggle) to the consideration of the chief principles of the socialist movement; so that, by means of such an incessant propaganda of revolutionary idealism (which necessarily repudiates the pragmatism of the Reformists as misleading and confusing) the conception of the fundamental struggle for the integral conquest of the economic and political control of society shall not be lost in the multiplicity of single struggles.

2. We recognize the historic necessity, inevitable however sad, of not holding back from the use of violence to overthrow and conquer the certain resistance of the bourgeois class, which will not be willing to adapt itself to meek acquiescence, and consequently we claim that it is the duty of the party to prepare the proletarian mind for the violent conflict and to decide upon the methods to be used.

Provisory Committee of the Extreme Revolutionary Group of the Italian Socialist Party.

HON. GIUSEPPE BIANCHI
NINO LEVI, Attorney
DR. D. ANGELO FILIPETTI

The resolutions framed by the Communist-Exclusionist group for submission to the National Congress read as follows:

The Seventeenth National Congress, after an adequate discussion of the policy of the party based on an examination of the Italian political situation, the international outlook, and all the deliberations of the Communist International (with special attention to the principles formulated by the Second Congress regarding the conditions for the entrance of parties to the International, and to the Seventeenth Point, which deals with the principal duties of the International);

Recalling the Marxian principles, the experience of all the past activity of the party, and the lessons to be learned from our neighbors in the revolutionary struggle that has been carried on by the proletariat of the world since the Great War of Imperialism, adopts the following deliberations:

1. Confirms its adherence to the Third Communist International, pledging itself to all the provisions necessary to render the structure and the activity of the party in harmony with the conditions of admission, which the Second Congress of the International has effectively provided for the protection of its existence and for the development of the world organ of the proletarian revolutionary conflict.

2. Confirms the general opinions expressed in the revision of its program voted at the Congress of Bologna, making certain changes in the form and in certain conceptions of the party program which will be finally formulated according to the text attached to the present motion; and declares that the program itself must constitute the basis for the personal adherence to the party of each member, who shall sign his complete acceptance of its principles.

3. Decides to change the name of the party to the "Italian Communist Party, Section of the Third Communist International."

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4. Asserts the incompatibility of retaining in the party those who oppose the principles and the conditions of the Communist International, declaring that the following must be included among those who are incompatible:

(a) All those adhering to the so-called Concentrationist Group and supporting its congresses;

(b) All party members who, in the present Congress, vote against the communist program of the party and against the pledge to abide strictly by the twenty-one conditions of admission to the International.

5. Adopts as a fundamental part of the organization and tactics of the party the resolutions of the Second Congress of the Communist International, declaring it a duty of all members to maintain the strictest discipline in their action regarding these resolutions as interpreted and observed by international and national central executive bodies. The application of these tactics, in relation to the demands of the Italian political situation, demands of the party the following obligations:

(a) Preparation in the spiritual and material fields of the means indispensable to the success of the revolutionary action of the proletariat;

(b) Formation in the heart of all proletarian associations of communist groups for propaganda, revolutionary preparation, and the gathering of proletarian forces on the side of the party;

(c) Immediate annulment of the present alliance agreement with the General Federation of Labor as an inadequate expression of the relations between the unions and the party; appeal to the revolutionary proletarian organizations outside the federation to join it in order to support the struggle of the Communists against its present policy and leaders. Pledge of all party members as organized workers and organizers to fight under any conditions to uphold within the federation the judgments and decisions of the party and to struggle by these means to place agents of the party in executive positions of the unions. Separation of the federation as soon as it is conquered by the party from the yellow Secretaryship of Amsterdam, and its adherence to the syndical section of the Communist International, as outlined in its statute;

(d) Participation in political and administrative elections with a motive completely opposed to the old social-democrat practice, and with the object of developing revolutionary propaganda and agitation, and of hastening the disintegration of the organs of bourgeois democracy;

(e) Discipline, with the elaboration of a new statute for the internal affairs of the party, the federation, and the sections and a modification of its relations with organizations representing the party press, the functioning of elected representatives in the communes, in the provinces, and in parliament, the young people's movement, the feminist movement, the institution of the period of probation for new party members; and the periodic revision of the names of all members, beginning immediately after the Congress.

Committee of the Communist Group:

BOMBACCI, BORDIGA, FORTICHIARI, GRAMSCI, MISSIANO, POLANO, REPOSSI, TERRACINI

The Italian Socialists and the International

THE resolutions of the Unitary Communists, printed below, were finally adopted at the Leghorn Congress as the expression of opinion of the majority of the Italian Socialists. As the result of this action the Communist Exclusionists, or "pure" Communists, broke away from the party, carried with them a large number of the supporters of the Left, and formed a new organization. The following text is taken from *Avanti* for January 18.

The Italian Socialist Party in its Seventeenth National Congress, discussing its political policy, considers it necessary to strengthen the unity of the party on the basis of a stricter uniformity of its organs as well as of its members, and to bring this about it desires a greater centralization so that all members and divisions will subordinate their own activity to the general interest and to an integral result; and this applies also to the control of activity explained in the intellectual and propaganda fields;

With this same end in view, in the face of organized, economic resistance, it is proposed to give preference in thought and action to political questions over all other contingent and syndical questions, and to keep the central organs of the economic and syndical movement subordinate to the political party;

It consequently recognizes the necessity of guarding the unitary character of the party membership in order to attain more efficiently and more rapidly the conquest of all political power, for which every method is acceptable within the limits of the absolute irreconcilability of classes, and always with the aim of the communist revolution, which demands the unity of political action with the economic action of the syndical forces;

Adopting legal and extra-legal methods of preparation, whether for organizing means of education and progress, and machinery for revolutionary conquest, or for establishing substitutional organs;

Discussing then the relations of the Italian Socialist Party with the Third Communist International, confirms again its complete and spontaneous adherence to the International itself and to the deliberations of the Congress of the International;

Declares, however, that, following the Second Congress of Moscow, it accepts substantially the twenty-one conditions that were drawn up, together with the exclusion of the Massoni, and as for their execution considers that the twenty-one points are to be interpreted according to the particular historic conditions of the country, in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Third International, as is provided in points sixteen and twenty and according to the usage in other countries;

Keeping intact the conception that whoever adheres to the principles of the International, shall do so with the full understanding and determination to put them into practice;

Finally, concerning the conditions demanded by the seventeenth point, the Congress, in consideration of the fact that the Italian Socialist Party did not stain its banner in the years of the World War, and to avoid the adoption of the glorious name of the Socialist Party, which is so familiar to the proletariat, by those who have abandoned it, proposes to the Executive Committee of the Third International that it shall be provisionally kept and regarded as an exception to the conditions for joining the Third International, from which the Italian Socialist Party asks and hopes for a stronger, more constant, and fraternal support in the future.

An Appeal to the Italian Workers

FOLLOWING the Leghorn Congress, the new Socialist Party Executive issued a manifesto to the workers of Italy, parts of which are printed below, appealing for a unity of purpose in spite of the party split. The text is taken from *Avanti* for January 27.

ITALIAN WORKERS:

While the Italian Socialist Party—your strong and glorious party—had already taken the decisive steps to prevent it, and persisted in spite of many difficulties, the word spread among the ranks like a new command—one of internal conflict, of disintegration, of division.

Some comrades have found that it is no longer possible for us to act together, and that there is a Right Wing in our party which compromises its position and distorts its principles and actions. And at the Leghorn Congress the unfortunate split in the party was carried out—notwithstanding our firm resistance—not in order to save a few leaders, but to defend those eco-

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nomic units without which the revolution is either impossible or a thousand times more difficult. Today the bourgeoisie is rejoicing at seeing that a Communist minority has withdrawn from the party to form a new one, even though it may know that we are divided from these comrades only by a difference of opinion on the methods of regulating the life of the party which we want to maintain in its political and economic structure as a preparation for the new order.

The bourgeoisie, however, will rejoice in vain over the division, if the split, as we ardently wish and hope, can be converted into a splendid contest for the most rapid and successful development possible of the revolutionary period. If the new Communist Party which has been founded at our side does not degenerate into a fruitless conflict between comrades who have the same ultimate aim and the same revolutionary spirit; if it is not perverted into a narrow, secret sect, the two groups of Communists will come together again and join forces, when the need for the struggle against reaction has drawn nearer, and the masses and comrades have come to understand the value of unity after having compromised and destroyed it.

In fact, the difference which actually brought about the split at Leghorn was based on a point of a purely secondary nature, which was made decisive only through the intervention of the representative of the Moscow International. He demanded the a priori and immediate expulsion of the entire group of those who had supported the Reggio Emilia resolution, basing this demand on a conception which we hold to be deeply erroneous, and which no one at the Congress dared to support and prove, namely, that those comrades had betrayed the party and that some of them would have had strong enough positions in our organization to sabotage a possible victorious revolution.

We hold rather, that only after the acceptance of the twenty-one points of Moscow is Italy entitled to expel those members who oppose their adoption, and we ask equality of treatment with all other nations, which is even more just in our case, since the Right Wing in our party—as everyone admits—is already much further to the Left than Communists in other countries.

All this has been denied to us by the representative of the Third International; but we cherish the hope that, when artificially ambiguous terms and needless misunderstandings have been cleared up, Moscow will quickly recognize the integrity of our aims and the harm that would be done to the party and to the Third International itself by the wholesale expulsion of a group, and realize that it would produce the split even in the syndical organizations and the cooperatives.

We trust that the Third International will not want to keep outside of it the strongest and most ardent of the parties which defended the Russian Revolution from the start, which, having taken part in the formation of the Third International, adheres to it spontaneously and enthusiastically.

Thus the split has come in our party while the "democratic" Entente is spreading its insidious nets to strangle the Russian Soviet Republic in the coming spring, and even greater outrages against the revolution are being prepared by the capitalists of England and the United States. . . .

We who have a clear conscience regarding the justice of our actions to prevent the occurrence of this misfortune, feel justified in extending to you, workers of Italy, this fraternal appeal:

"Stay with us; press ever closer around our red banner, which we have always held up to anger the furious enemy, in this party which has bravely fought and conquered a thousand battles!" In its platform, under its discipline, there is room for all who believe in the proletarian revolution, and have faith in it. There is room for all those who, today more than ever, feel the profound significance of the words of Karl Marx: "Workers of the world, unite!"

Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party: BACCI, BARATONO, CLERICI, MORTARA, PARPAGNOLI, MANTICA, PILATI, BONFIGLIO, FIORITTE, SERRATI, STOLFA, PASSIGLI, MONTANARI, ZANNERINI.

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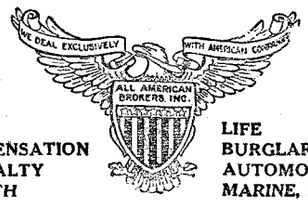

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Section II

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American Commission on Conditions in Ireland

Fifth Report:—Hearings in Washington, D. C., December 15 and 21, 1920 Testimony of Laurence Ginnell, Mrs. Annot Erskine Robinson, and Miss Ellen C. Wilkinson

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Mr. Ginnell, you are an Irishman? A. Yes.

Q. Where is your home? A. County West Meath.

Q. You have been identified with Irish public life? A. Always.

Q. How long have you been in this country? A. Since last July.

Q. Prior to that, what was your previous occupation in Ireland? A. A prisoner was my occupation for several years, except for short intervals.

Q. You were in the British Parliament? A. Yes.

Q. When were you elected? A. I have been for eleven years actually a member of the British Parliament; but for twenty years before that living in Westminster.

Q. What is your business or profession? A. I am a barrister of the English bar and of the Irish bar. But I have been too active in political life to practice.

Q. And you have been in this country now for—— A. Four and a half months.

CHAIRMAN HOWE. Thank you very much, Mr. Ginnell. Now proceed.

THE WITNESS. I always regarded the attendance of Irish representatives at Westminster as worse than futile in practice, and only awaited a general policy of withdrawal to withdraw myself. One member withdrawing could produce no effect, nor could two or three. Ten or twenty would. The time had not come. I had constant and conclusive reasons for distrusting all English parties in the House of Commons in all matters relating to Ireland. To give only a few instances. On one occasion—I think it was in 1907—a motion was under discussion calling upon the Government to allocate an adequate sum of money out of the excessive taxes drawn from Ireland for arterial drainage.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. For what? For drainage. A. For arterial drainage. That is, the deepening of some of the larger rivers, to give free escape to their waters which, dammed up by obstacles, were thrown back and flooded large tracts of otherwise fertile land, destroying crops before they could be gathered in, and in some instances driving people and their cattle from their homesteads, delaying cropping for the next season, and making the land less productive. The drainage of these submerged lands was an urgent work of a character which would pay directly for itself by the increased fertility of the soil. But it could not be done by local effort because of the great cost and because of the length of the rivers, passing through or by several counties and local districts, which only a national authority could bring into concurrence. This obvious duty the British Government never exercised because it did not want the work done, and because it did not want to spend Irish money on an Irish improvement. If I am asked, can you give any proof that such was England's motive? I answer, yes. On the occasion just mentioned in 1907 when, on a motion to allocate an adequate sum of money for this purpose, all the Irish members in the House of Commons except two salaried place-holders supported the motion—Orange and Green united supporting the motion; but it was ignominiously defeated by the Liberal government then in office with the help of Tory and Liberal representatives, showing that all British parties are allied in getting all they can and holding all they get. The money went for imperial purposes in various parts of the world, and the Irish people, Unionists as well as Nationalists, in Ulster as well as in Munster, Connaught, and Leinster, were left and are still left to the flooding of their farms and homes. To this day the Presbyterian farmers along the River Bann in Ulster as well as the Catholic farmers along the Rivers Suck and Shannon are victims of England's greed.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. How many Irish members were in the British Parliament? A. One hundred one were supposed to be there, but the average attendance was about ninety.

Q. Out of six hundred? A. Yes. All the Irish members on that day walked into the same lobby to have Irish money allocated for this purpose, and they were all beaten; showing that under the best conditions Ireland could have no hope from Westminster.

Another instance. In the autumn of 1915, knowing that fuel would be scarce and expensive as the war continued, I formed a powerful committee consisting mostly of political opponents in my own constituency of West Meath to start a fuel industry on a large scale on the peat bogs there. The machinery for this purpose being manufactured only in Sweden, we were refused a permit to import it, and the project was effectively killed. Clearly the answer given by John Burns, a Cabinet minister, to Colonel Warburton on the same subject was still in force: "Ireland must be kept to agriculture." Coal was sold in West Meath for 23 shillings a ton. It is now and has been for several years sold in West Meath at £3 a ton; showing what a large profit could be made out of this one industry on bog land which was unfit for any industry except this one, and this one would not be allowed because it would compete with English coal in Ireland.

It was not unknown that members of the House were actually canvassed by their respective party whips to hear specified speakers, and canvassed again to leave their seats to prevent other speakers being heard. Members of Congress and of the Senate will realize how unfair that was. On one occasion an English member, Mr. Joseph King, had the honesty to call the Speaker's attention to the fact that he himself, in common with other members, had been canvassed to hear a statement from ministers and other leaders of parties, and also canvassed not to hear me speak on the same subject. The Speaker professed an inability to act in such a situation when members of parties, acting as if with an electric button, rose and cleared out and left me addressing the chair alone; whereas a speaker must have forty members or he cannot proceed. I was standing there with papers in my hand and ready to speak, while a sand-glass was being turned and running empty, measuring the time for which I was allowed to stand. I had to leave

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the House with my speech in my hand and the documents to support it in my pockets. The members of the House had been canvassed not to hear the Irish case presented.

Again, on the 3d of May, 1916, all parties sprang to their feet and cheered the announcement of the Prime Minister that the leaders of the Easter Week rebellion had been executed. My cry of "Huns!" "Huns!" on this occasion referred not so much to the execution as to the cheering on hearing of the execution.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Tell us something more about that, Mr. Ginnell. Did these men who were executed take part in the Easter rebellion? A. These men had taken part in the Easter Week rebellion. They were patriots, and they were my best friends, the best men I ever knew.

Q. Did they surrender? A. Yes, they surrendered, laid down their arms, and were prisoners in England's hands. And the fact that more than 600 members in the House of Commons, in a legislative assembly in a civilized country, sprang to their feet, waving their handkerchiefs and their parliamentary papers like that [indicating waving with extended arms] and cheering, brought up to my mind Dante's description of hell, and I considered that they were demons and that they were Huns. I shouted, "Huns! Huns! Huns!" These men were the criminals and not the men who were shot at that time.

Q. Those men were leaders in the insurrection? A. Yes, they were leaders in the insurrection.

Q. Just enumerate some of them. A. The chief, Padraic Pearse, leader of the Irish volunteers. His brother, buried in quicklime, because he was Padraic's brother. James Connolly had this distinction: he was shot through the legs and through the body, wholly unable to stand. When the time came for his execution, the military doctors told the English authorities that the man would be dead in three hours. They would not wait for the man to die in three hours. They wanted to have the satisfaction of shooting him. He was wheeled into the prison yard in a barrow, utterly unable to stand. Twenty bullets were put through him at close range, and he went into the quicklime like the rest.

Q. How many were executed? A. Sixteen.

Q. Altogether? A. No, two or three at a time.

Q. On different days? A. Yes, on different days. When Mr. Asquith announced that "Padraic Pearse, Thomas Clarke, Thomas MacDonagh were shot this morning," it was then the cheering occurred. And these men: Thomas MacDonagh, a poet; Thomas Clarke, a man, I believe, about sixty, the oldest man among them; John MacDermott, and Eamonn Kent.

Q. Was there a trial? A. There was a court martial trial.

Q. Was it public or private? A. Private, of course, private.

Q. Was there any statement made by the Prime Minister in Parliament other than that they were executed? A. No. He read from a telegram. That was all.

Q. Those men were actively interested in the insurrection? A. Oh, yes. Most of them had signed the proclamation of Irish independence, except young Willie Pearse, brother of Padraic Pearse. He was shot because he was his brother. And Plunkett, the son of Count Plunkett. He was a poet. They were all artists.

My own first imprisonment was on Christmas eve, 1907, for advocating what is known as cattle-driving. If you care to hear anything about cattle-driving later on, it will be more in place than it would here. In 1916, while still a member of the British House of Commons, I was imprisoned in England for having succeeded by writing my name in Gaelic in gaining admission to Knutsford jail to visit some of the 400 Irishmen detained there without trial. An order had been sent to all the prisons in which Irish prisoners were detained that I was not to be allowed to visit them, presumably because I was calling attention to their treatment in the House. And I was imprisoned because I was compelled by this order to sign my name in Gaelic, which the prison guard could not read, in order to gain admission to see these men.

In March, 1918, I was again arrested and sentenced to six months for trying to have the English law for compulsory tillage applied to all the large holdings as well as the small farms. This Compulsory Tillage Act was put in force by Orders in Council for the war. These Orders in Council when once put in force assume all the strength of an Act. The Order in Council issued in Ireland was in practice applied only to small farmers who had always been accustomed to till an adequate proportion of their lot. They were now compelled to till more, while large grazing tracts of land owned by men who did not reside on them at all, men who gave no employment, men who had only a herder and his dog for a tract perhaps of a thousand acres—those tracts were not touched by the order. I went over the country advocating in counties especially where such tracts existed that the young men in the neighborhood who lived on poor soil, bogs, and barren hills, should go to these owners and offer to take the lands over at their full value as found by an English Government land valuer, in accordance with the Land Purchase system then in operation. There was no injustice in taking the land from a man who does not reside on it and paying him the full value for it, in accordance with government inspection. I advised these young men to take this land, and the money would be provided by the Government, as per the existing Land Purchase law. And if the owners refused, or if anything arose to prevent those men from getting the land on these equitable terms, to go in on the land and plow it up and make it useless for pasture. That advice was acted upon in several instances. The owners gave way, came to terms, and were very glad to take the money. In other instances the owner, not residing in Ireland at all but in England, refused; and then there was trouble. But whether trouble or not, for this offense I was sent to jail for six months.

Q. What were you charged with? A. I was charged with unlawful assembly, a very common charge in my case. On account of my age and my health, I was sent to the hospital part of the prison. But otherwise I was to be treated as a convict. That is, to get no visits, no books, no newspapers, or anything else from the outer world. And this was in direct violation of the agreement come to a few months before, after Thomas Ashe's tragic death, an agreement between the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Laurence O'Neill, the Bishop of Belfast, and the English Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Shortt. An agreement was come to by these three men that political prisoners should be allowed visits and allowed letters. An attempt was made to break that agreement in my case. I at once went on hunger strike, absolutely refusing to take food and drink from the prison authorities, in order to obtain the treatment that had been promised under the agreement. I was only four days on hunger strike when through the influence of the prison doctors I was given political treatment. Then I came off my strike.

Having spent six months in Mountjoy prison on that occasion, my sentence expired at the end of August, 1918. The prison gate was opened only wide enough to allow my body to pass through. Immediately outside was the door end of a prison van, into which I was forced to walk. I could just see my wife and other friends, who had come to greet me, but I was not allowed near them. I was forced into the van and taken to Arbor Hill barracks till the evening, when I was taken to Reading jail in England without any charge or any reason being given my why I was being treated as a criminal. This did not surprise me, because while I was undergoing my imprisonment in Mountjoy, many Irishmen had been arrested and deported; and some who like myself were serving sentences of imprisonment, were taken off to England immediately upon the conclusion of their sentences without any warrant or charge proffered against them.

At that time the English authorities, Lord French and Ian MacPherson, were determined to crush the Irish people like "poisonous insects." In my opinion the real motive for these imprisonments was to deprive the Irish people of any leadership or advisers for the forthcoming parliamentary elections, which were held in December, 1918, in order that they, like sheep with-

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out a shepherd, might abandon the Republican cause. The result was different. Forty of those prisoners in England without trial were put up in Ireland as parliamentary candidates and all forty were returned with sweeping majorities. In a country of 101 parliamentary seats, we won seventy-three notwithstanding our imprisonment—a greater majority than this or any other country just emerging from bondage has ever had at the start.

During that winter we all suffered severely from cold and bad food. Imprisonment in an English prison, or imprisonment in any prison ruled by England, is no joke. It is hard for people to realize it. In my first imprisonment ten years earlier, which I have mentioned, although I was allowed food and all of the comforts from outside, and was supplied with them, all that did not prevent the depressing effect of the prison on my whole system. The monotony of the place; nothing but white walls to look at; nobody to speak to; nobody to visit you; always alone: all this thing has a terribly depressing effect. I should have mentioned that in that imprisonment of 1907 I was held for six months without a trial in the ordinary sense. It is the usual course, and that is why I thought it scarcely worth mentioning. I advocated at that time cattle-driving, which was mainly with reference to driving cattle off large unoccupied tracts of land so that they might be used. For the offense of cattle-driving there is a civil remedy. The owner of the land or cattle may prosecute you or sue for trespass or damages. No owner ever sued me for such a cause, although I gave plenty of them occasion for doing so. One particular estate I had dealt with, without my knowing it, was under the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery. The judge of that court, Judge Ross, still on the bench, did not summon me to a trial. I was never tried nor asked to attend for trial. He treated the matter as contempt of court, with which in Ireland a judge can deal at his discretion. His discretion was to sentence me to six months' imprisonment—in my absence and untried. My health broke down, and at the end of four months the prison doctors became alarmed that I was going to die. I was then released, and it took me six to eight months more to recover my normal health.

At the end of March, 1919, I and all the untried prisoners in England were released. On my release I went to a meeting of my constituents in Athlone to thank them for reelecting me in my absence in prison. Without notice or warning of any kind, the hall in which the meeting was to be held was occupied by the military. Not being able to enter the hall, we attempted to hold the meeting on the public square in the town. The military promptly came along with rifles and bayonets and scattered the meeting, running over poor old women and children, who were unable to get out of their way with sufficient speed. For having attempted to address this meeting I was arrested at a railroad station in Dublin at the end of May, 1919. In the heat of the sun I was brought handcuffed from Dublin to Mullingar, fifty miles, in a military lorry, surrounded by soldiers with rifles, and followed and preceded by similar lorries similarly filled. My face and hands were covered with dust, and I was exhausted with thirst. I was brought back to my own county, to the people who had elected me, handcuffed as a criminal, for attempting to thank them for having elected me. I was sentenced by an English-paid magistrate to four months for unlawful assembly.

My health began to give way completely, although in comparison to what other political prisoners had suffered I had nothing to complain of. The doctor had ordered me to have daily baths, and when I went into the bathroom one morning I found a low criminal who occupied the cell next to mine pouring the contents of his pot—the worst smelling thing I ever knew of—into my bath. I complained to the governor of the prison, but without any effect.

A week before my time was up my health broke down most seriously, and I was released on that account. I went to the Isles of Aran to recover my health, and took no part whatever in politics, being wholly unable to do so. In March, 1920, I returned to my house in Dublin, intending to stay there just a few days. One day I went to the National Library to get Zimmer's German book on "The Irish Element in European Culture," a harmless book, as anyone could imagine. That night at ten o'clock the house was surrounded by military, and after a thorough search lasting two hours I was taken away to prison. By this time the curfew law was put into force, and night raids were of quite common occurrence. With all civilians barred off the streets by the curfew, the military and the police carried on their work of terrorizing the people. When a house was raided, all the males in the house were swept off to prison, whether they were connected with the Republican movement or not; so that it was not safe for the sons of the family to sleep at home nights, or even to sleep in the same house two nights in succession. I was released, however, after a few days on account of my health, without prejudice to future committal, as the prison governor was instructed to inform me.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Of what date are you speaking now? A. This year.

The streets were filled with fully armed soldiers marching about with fixed bayonets and bombs hanging at their belts. Often tanks, even in the daytime, rolled along. Airplanes hovered over the city of Dublin incessantly. There were soldiers at the railroad stations and at most of the bridges leading into the city. The people live in a state of military siege. All literary societies, Gaelic clubs, and *Cumann na m'Ban* meetings were suppressed, but were being held in spite of the law, largely and mainly through the complete unanimity of the people. That is the foundation of the Republic of Ireland—the absolute unanimity of the people. A reward of £10,000, or about $40,000, was offered by the English Government in every part of the city of Dublin, especially in the poor slums, for certain information and for certain men, dead or alive; and the reward was never claimed, such is the fidelity of the people, although hundreds among them knew where the men named could be found. The expression that a man was to be found "dead or alive" meant that he might he shot at sight, and that the reward would be given to the person who shot him and produced the body. It was an incitement to murder. It was a license to kill.

As a result of the general parliamentary elections of December, 1918, the members elected met in Dublin instead of going to London, formed their own national assembly called Dail Eireann, repudiated England and all foreign rule, established themselves as the ruling power in Ireland, appointed ministers to take charge of the various essential departments for the reconstruction of our country, and duly elected their President, Mr. De Valera, as duly elected a president of a republic as ever sat in the White House at Washington. That is our position.

At the local government elections in May, 1920, last May, the duties of the police were discharged by soldiers of the Irish Republic. In many places public houses were closed by order of these soldiers to avoid any danger of disturbances. In one case to my own knowledge schools both Protestant and Catholic were closed on the same day by order of these soldiers. The orders of these soldiers were cheerfully and implicitly obeyed by all classes in that local government election. At this election to local councils, town councils, and city corporations, we improved our position by having not merely 73 per cent but 84 per cent of the citizens of Ireland vote for candidates pledged to the support of the Republic. It may interest the Commission to hear that we completely broke the alleged barrier between the northeast corner of Ulster and the rest of Ireland at that election. You are told in this country that the northeast corner of Ireland is Ulster, and that Ulster is a solid block against independence for Ireland. Against that let me give you the case of a friend of mine, Louis Walsh of the Ballycastle district in County Antrim, an Orange county, where a Catholic candidate would have had no chance at all of election if dependent on Catholic votes. His election was accomplished by the votes of Orangemen. He started out by declaring himself an Irish Republican without any qualifications. In all his speeches

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he so described himself. The election was held under a new system which England thought would be disastrous to the Republicans, the system of proportional representation. We welcomed this because our desire always is and has been to heed the voice of all sections of the people. My friend Walsh of Ballycastle division of County Antrim became a candidate. All the people voted for five members. Ten candidates started. Walsh was one of them. He was the only Republican candidate. He was elected at the head of the poll. He got more votes than any other of the nine candidates in an Orange district. In his speech returning thanks to the electorate for having elected him he returned especial thanks to the Orangemen. Without their votes he could not have been elected.

I give that as an instance of the artificial barrier attempted to be put up by England between Ulster and the rest of Ireland. It is purely artificial and purely malicious. We want the Orangemen. We know that they will be one of the strongest elements in our new constitution. We hope for great things from that particular section of the country, on account of the advantages they have had in industry when we in the south have not been allowed to practice industry, as I have just informed the Commission. If English power were out of Ireland, the south and the west and the midlands would harmonize with the people of the north within twenty-four hours. There is no division between us but a factitious, artificial division kept up as a pretext for such riots as occur occasionally in Derry City and in Belfast under English influence.

That was the general condition of Ireland when I was leaving it last July. I left Ireland on the ninth of July. I have been told since I came to Washington that the Commission desired something of an historical background for the present situation in Ireland. What has it sprung out of? What is its source and origin? I recognize that that is a very important thing, although I had no knowledge of the desire for its presentation until I arrived yesterday. I have since then armed myself with what will give the Commission as much information as they may desire on that particular point.

On account of the poor, hungry, and ignorant Irish peasants who have for generations come to this country, and the effect on the minds of Americans as to what sort of a race they must belong to to be so backward, I claim the privilege of saying, and supporting the statement as briefly as possible, that our nation of Ireland is one with a grand historical past. I say with knowledge that no nation in Europe excepting Greece alone has done as much as our little country of Ireland has done for European civilization, and consequently for the civilization of this country. Augustine Thierry, a Frenchman, in his book "The Norman Conquest," volume II, pages 121, 122, says: "No country has furnished a greater number of missionaries for Christianity, from no other motive than pure zeal and an ardent desire of communicating to foreign nations the opinions and faith of their country. The Irish were great travelers, and always gained the hearts of those whom they visited by the extreme ease with which they conformed to their customs and way of life. This facility of manners was allied in them with an extreme love of national independence."

I shall give no authorities except non-Irish authorities as far as I know. Heinrich Zimmer, in his work, "The Irish Element in Mediaeval Culture," says: "Dungal, Johannes Scotus, Clemens, Sedulius, and Moengal are representatives of a higher culture than was to be found on the Continent of their day. To a purely Christian training and a severely simple habit of mind they joined the highest theoretical attainments, based upon a thorough knowledge of the best standards of classical antiquity. These Irishmen had a high mission intrusted to them, and they faithfully accomplished their task."

All of this refers to Ireland's relations with the Continent of Europe from the fifth to the tenth centuries. Then dark days came. King Henry VIII of England was the first English sovereign to plan and put into feasible operation a conquest of the whole of Ireland, and the substitution of English tenure for Irish tenure of land, and the substitution of English planters for the Irish people he had dispossessed and exterminated. This appears in English State Papers, 2, Volume III, page 329—is that too far back?

CHAIRMAN HOWE. I was thinking that you might cite the places, and save your time. Or you could just leave the book with us.

THE WITNESS. The point was that Henry VIII was the first English king who initiated the extirpation of the Irish race from Ireland. The previous policy of military conquest had failed, and from Henry VIII's time on the continuous and consistent policy of England in Ireland has been nothing less than the gradual extirpation of the whole nation. It was suggested to Henry to take first from the people their corn, so that they and their cattle and beasts would have nothing on which to live, and then they could be easily done away with. As the State Papers say, "Thus to enterprise the whole extirpation and total destruction of all the Irishmen of the land, it would be a marvelous sumptuous charge and great difficulty." Henry himself wrote, "Now at the beginning politic practice may do more good than exploit of war, till such time as the strength of the Irish enemies shall be enfeebled and diminished."

At a later period, in Elizabeth's time, Sir Henry Sydney, her deputy, made a tour of inspection of Ireland in 1567, and he reported to Queen Elizabeth: "Such horrible and lamentable spectacles are there to behold as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, the wasting of such as have been good towns and castles; yea, the view of the bones and the skulls of dead subjects who, partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields, as in troth hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold." The policy of extermination had been put in force there by the burning of corn in the fields, the slaughter or removal of the people's cattle, the destruction of their homes, and the slaying of the people themselves. This is the report of Sir Henry Sydney, deputy of Queen Elizabeth.

In 1574 the Earl of Essex wrote home thus: "In the end it may be put to her—the Queen's—choice whether she will suffer this people to inhabit here for their rent, or extirpate them and plant other people in it. The force which shall bring about the one shall do the other; and it may be done without any show that such a thing is meant." Hollinshed, an English historian, tells how this policy of extirpation was carried out: "As they went, they drove the whole country before them into the Ventrie, and by that means they preyed and took all the cattle in the country, to the number of eight thousand kine, besides horses, garrons, sheep, and goats; and all such people as they met they did without mercy put to the sword; by these means the whole country, having no cattle or kine left, they were driven to such extremities that for want of victuals they were either to die and perish for famine or die under the sword. By means of the continual persecuting of the rebels, who could have no breath nor rest to relieve themselves, but were always by one garrison or other hurt and pursued; and by reason that their cattle were taken from them in great numbers and their harvest preyed upon, and the whole country spoiled and preyed, the poor people, who lived only upon their labors, and fed by their milch cows, were so distressed that they would follow after the goods which were taken from them and offer themselves, their wives and children rather to be slain by the army than to suffer the famine wherewith they were now pinched." I would ask the Commission to reflect whether that is not in entire harmony with what a member of the Commission read today that he had received from Ireland, showing that England's policy of the Black and Tans is a continuity.

I must ask leave to say this. We, a small nation, are in death grips with the most powerful and most unscrupulous empire in the world. That empire if allowed to be represented here would make an atrociously false case. I have evidence here to prove that England's policy in Ireland is the same today as it was a hundred years ago—a policy of extirpation. And I can prove that by the words of English states-

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men and historians themselves. I would ask you, Mr. President, to admit that that is a strong position.

I want it on the record that I made an attempt to prove the correctness of the statement of the English Chief Secretary for Ireland that England's policy there is a continuity. That is what I am here for. It is no freak at the present time. It is a continuity—a deliberate policy of extirpation.

COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. That will go in the record, and in support of it you can submit this book, so that it is all there.

THE WITNESS. I accept it, madam. Evidence of the artificial famine and all will go in. All famines in Ireland are artificial.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. You might just elaborate that a little. You say that all famines in Ireland are artificial. What do you mean? A. The Commission has before it evidence, on the one hand, that Ireland is a poor country, and on the other that Ireland is a rich country. Which is to be believed? I am here with very considerable knowledge to say that Ireland is potentially a rich country, but under foreign rule can never be rich. That is the whole answer. There is no puzzle at all in it. Ireland can never be rich under English rule.

Q. We would like to hear you at length about that, Mr. Ginnell. Just explain what you mean by that. A. What I mean by it is this. Naturally, in speaking of the resources of Ireland, I speak of the land first. The land is fertile, wonderfully fertile for such a latitude. The people, as soon as they become owners of their holdings, are wonderfully, untiringly industrious. Without a future, as they have been in the past—without a future and outlet for their abilities, they become idle and descend to vices. With a future they gain courage, and they are apt for any form of industry that they are allowed to practice. They are not allowed to practice any form of industry under English rule.

Q. You mean to say that after the Irish begin to take advantage of the opportunities that are given to them under the Land Purchase Act or otherwise, the British Government makes it impossible to use it? A. No, it does not apply to land. It applies to industry. An Irish child may grow up and develop a distinct taste for mechanics. When he grows up in Ireland, he has no field for exercising his peculiar talent. He must go away to England, Scotland, or America, where such work is appreciated. He is a loss to his own country.

Q. Explain why it cannot be done in Ireland. A. Because industries will not be allowed in Ireland.

Q. That is true today, as it was in earlier days? A. True today, not so much of the laws of the present time, but as a continuation of the devices of past laws and continued administration of those laws.

Q. Give us some examples of today. Is that true of the fishing industry? A. Yes, it is true of all industries in Ireland. As early as 1545, an act of 33 Henry VIII, ch. 16, prohibited the importation of Irish wool into England, but the first deliberate blow at the Irish woolen industry and trade in goods manufactured from wool was the English Act of 1660, 12 Charles II, ch. 4. This bill hit the English branch of the Irish trade in manufactured wool, but it did not interfere with the foreign trade. Another Act of the same year, 12 Charles II, ch. 32, and an Act of 1662, 14 Charles II, ch. 18, made it a felony, that was punishable by death, to export wool from Ireland anywhere but to England, and confiscated the ship and cargo and goods and chattels of the master if wool were brought into England except in the raw state under a heavy duty. That is England's conception of reciprocity.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. That was in 1662. And we suppose that since you have been in Parliament, you can give us recent examples out of your experiences. A. Oh, no, that Act exists still in force. According to Lecky—and surely you will accept Lecky, an English historian who is in no wise partial to Ireland—we are not yet clear of the damage done to Ireland by the destruction of the woolen industry. I have been asked to give an instance. In 1697 a violent agitation was fomented in the woolen centers of England, alleging decay of trade owing to the growth of the Irish woolen industry. As a result of this a bill was drafted and sent, in January, 1698, to the colonial parliament in Dublin for enactment. That body for once hesitated to pass, at England's dictation, a bill conceived and drafted for the express purpose of destroying Ireland's promising woolen industry. It had the negative courage to do nothing. Bearing in mind the circumstances of the time, one can estimate the vigor of the woolen industry of Ireland from the statement of a contemporary writer that it was giving employment to 12,000 Protestant families in Dublin and to 30,000 Protestant families in the rest of Ireland. From the political point of view, they were the only families worth considering. But a much larger number of Catholic families had taken up the industry as far as allowed, since it was a domestic and congenial industry. The colonial parliament at Dublin, dominated by England, was finally compelled to act, and passed late in 1698, by a small majority, the Act, 10 William III, ch. 5, Irish. It was a measure dictated by England in England's interest for the destruction of Ireland's industry and trade. It was followed the next year by an act of the English Parliament, 10 & 11 William III, ch. 10, which prohibited perpetually the exportation from Ireland of all goods made of or mixed with wool, except with special license and then only to England; and the English prohibitory duties existing since 1660 were retained in full force. Thus every door was barred and bolted, and the people of Ireland were for commercial purposes marooned and imprisoned on their island as though they were lepers.

CHAIRMAN HOWE. I think we will accept all these historical data as valid. I was thinking about something contemporary.

THE WITNESS. The cotton and the glass industries have been suppressed in the same way. Ireland has peculiar ingredients for the manufacture of fine glass, and factories have been established at Birr and other places, where for some time a great variety of glass was produced. The products of those factories was a very high-grade glass which was much in demand for exportation. As soon as the industry began to flourish, the English Parliament prohibited Ireland from exporting glass to any country whatever.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. You mean to say that if a person started a glass factory or a cotton factory today in Ireland, the British Parliament or the British Board of Trade would prevent it? A. Yes, they would by sheer force overwhelm us. They would stifle us out.

Q. You mean that Ireland should be able to protect herself against such competition by necessary tariffs? A. Yes, certainly.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. Mr. Ginnell, how many members who were elected to the British Parliament and instead became members of the Irish Parliament are still free—still at large? A. I do not know. People in Ireland do not know because there are so many of them on the run. They cannot appear in public. A rough estimate would be—well, 73 seats were filled by Republicans. In four or five cases one man was elected for two seats. In our circumstances we cannot adjust that. So that we really had 68 men for 73 seats. Of those 68, Pearse McCann, member from East Tipperary, as fine a young man as I have ever seen, died in an English prison in March, 1919. Terrence MacSwiney died after a seventy-four-day fast in an English prison. There are two gone. Roughly, perhaps twenty others are in prison, twenty are on the run from the police, and the remainder are trying to mind their business as well as they possibly can, either their own or their country's business.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. What kind of legislation did that Parliament pass? A. It was constructive legislation. We could not take up anything like a code of laws. The only thing we could do was to adopt a code of justice as much in harmony as possible with the old Gaelic system, the old Brehon laws, which have prevailed in Ireland from before the dawn of history. We intend our Republic to be a cooperative commonwealth as much as possible. That will be in strict harmony with the

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old Brehon system as it is expounded in five large volumes.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. What do you mean by a cooperative commonwealth? A. I mean that we look to a future Ireland where most of the branches of business will be carried on by a cooperative system. By that we hope to escape from the difficulties of countries in modern times with labor problems.

Q. That is along the line of industrial democracy? A. Along the line of industrial democracy. In connection with that, I think I ought to mention to the Commission that I wrote a book in 1894, published by Fisher Unwin, on the Brehon laws. The Brehon laws began in pre-historic times. In old manuscripts which we have in vellum they have come down to us. They begin in language which few living men are able to translate.

Q. Who conceived the idea of a cooperative commonwealth? A. We did.

Q. The Irish Parliament was dedicated to that form of government? A. Not expressly, but all understood that that was what it would probably become.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. You consider that the future state in Ireland will be along the lines of the present cooperative movement in Ireland? A. It will. You may be told by someone after me that the cooperative movement itself will be a solution for all difficulties. We are told that these cooperative societies formed in Ireland would solve all of our problems. But we knew better than that. We knew that to increase the farmer's income from the soil while the landlord was over him would only increase the wealth in the landlord's pockets. The only thing to do was to clear out the landlord and brush him away. And to increase the wealth of the people by the cooperative movement while England is over us will only increase the amount of money that will flow into England's treasury. It will do us no good. That is my answer to cooperation alone. We look for great things from it in a free Ireland, but nothing for an Ireland ruled by strangers. Now, on a subject on which you have questioned me, Burke says: "Every nation has formed for itself some favorite point, which for it becomes the criterion of its happiness." So have we. We do not interfere with the English nation or any other nation forming any point it pleases as the criterion of its happiness while we are allowed to form the criterion of our own happiness.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. Was the Home Rule Bill discussed during your membership in Parliament, Mr. Ginnell? A. Yes, I was there during the whole of it, madam. I have stated a good number of instances to you to prove that English policy in Ireland is a continuity, that its purpose is to destroy the Irish people. International law regards such abuse of power as tyranny, and France, England, Russia, and America have already in several cases, with universal approval, regarded such tyranny as a forfeiture by the offending state of any right to rule such subject nation, released the nation from such subjection, and established and maintained its independence. This book says: "In none of those instances, in no case of which there is record, has abuse of power been so bad or so long continued as in the treatment of Ireland by England, comprising as it does: (1) The policy of defamation of Irish character, still being pursued; (2) the policy of destruction of civilization in Ireland, still being pursued; (3) the policy of exterminating the Irish nation, still being pursued; (4) the policy of destruction and prevention of Irish industries and trade, still being pursued; (5) the policy of prevention of legitimate intercourse with other nations, still being pursued; (6) the policy of financial exhaustion of Ireland for England's purposes, still being pursued; (7) the policy of infidelity to public engagements with Ireland, still being pursued; (8) the policy of general victimization of Ireland, still being pursued; (9) the policy of infringing the international Convention of The Hague of 1907, still being pursued; and (10) the policy of dominating international commerce, still being pursued." I was asked yesterday by the secretary of this Commission whether I could say anything on the financial exhaustion of Ireland in recent times. Mr. President, may I submit extracts from duly accredited authorities, commissioners appointed by the British Government to examine the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland, showing in modern times, that is, since the Union, since the year 1800 down to the issuance of this report in 1896, what those relations were?

Q. COMMISSIONER HOWE. Is this historical, Mr. Ginnell. A. It is the report of the Financial Relations Commission appointed by Parliament in 1894.

COMMISSIONER HOWE. That is a little far back. We should like to have you begin not longer ago than 1916.

THE WITNESS. This Commission is considering the present conditions in Ireland. The conditions that exist in Ireland now are rooted in what has been happening over there for several centuries.

CHAIRMAN HOWE. We know, Mr. Ginnell. But we are mainly interested in what is taking place over there now. To accumulate our record with historical matters is not nearly so valuable to us as what is happening over there today.

THE WITNESS. Then your secretary must have been in error when he conveyed that impression to me. I have here the material he asked for.

CHAIRMAN HOWE. The current statistics in the Statesman's Year Book will give us what is wanted about——

THE WITNESS. Oh no, no, no. The Statesman's Year Book deals with other matters. You cannot get it there.

CHAIRMAN HOWE. But we do not want to go back to 1800 or 1850.

THE WITNESS. But this is reported in 1896. Some of the men on the commission are alive still. Really, I must begin to question with very serious doubt whether you want the whole truth and nothing but the truth, or not.

CHAIRMAN HOWE. You must know, Mr. Ginnell, we could spend years in going over the whole Irish question and going back to the beginning.

THE WITNESS. Oh no. You have the opportunity to hear evidence that you have not got from anybody else. That is a very strong position. You may have other witnesses here who will represent the absolute contrary of this on their own authority, and it will go into the record. This is not ancient history. It continues still. These fifteen gentlemen, four of them Irish, the others Britons, found that since the Act of Union England had on her own statistics overtaxed Ireland as compared to England to the extent of over two and three-quarter million pounds a year. In 1915 Lord MacDonald, who is no friend of the Republic, published a calculation based on the report made by these commissioners, that to that date England had overtaxed Ireland to an amount of over 400 million pounds. That has never been remedied. It is conclusive evidence of Ireland's financial ability to run her own government.

CHAIRMAN HOWE. Go ahead, Mr. Ginnell, just as you have done now.

THE WITNESS. The report of this Financial Commission states: "The Financial Relations Commission was appointed to inquire into the financial conditions between Great Britain and Ireland and their relative taxable capacities and to report." The very terms of this commission are an acknowledgment that Great Britain and Ireland are not one country but two distinct countries, in spite of the Act of Union and the amalgamation of their treasuries. The commission was appointed by royal warrant dated 26th of May, 1894, with the following commissioners: Right Honorable Hugh C. E. Childers, chairman; Lord Farrer, Lord Welby, Right Honorable O'Connor Don, an Irishman; Sir Robert G. C. Hamilton, representative of the English Treasury; Sir David Barbour, Honorable Edward Blake, a Canadian, but a member of Parliament from an Irish constituency; Bertram W. Currie, W. A. Hunter, M. P.; C. E. Martin, J. E. Redmond, M. P., an Irishman; and Thomas Sexton, M. P., an Irishman. To take the place of two deceased commissioners, there were appointed by further royal warrant dated 22d of June, 1894, Henry F. Slattery, an Irishman, G. W.

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Wolff, M. P. On the death of Mr. Childers, the Right Honorable O'Connor Don was appointed chairman. The final report, page 2, states: "In carrying out the inquiry, we have ascertained that there are certain questions upon which we are practically unanimous, and we think it expedient to set them out in this joint report. Our conclusions on these questions are as follows: (1) That Great Britain and Ireland must, for the purpose of this inquiry, be considered as separate entities; (2) that the Act of Union imposed upon Ireland a burden which, as events showed, she was unable to bear; (3) that the increase of taxation laid upon Ireland between 1853 and 1860 was not justified by the then existing circumstances; (4) that identity of rates of taxation does not necessarily involve equality of burden; (5) that while the actual tax revenue of Ireland is about one-eleventh that of Great Britain, the relative taxable capacity of Ireland is very much smaller, and is not estimated by any of us as exceeding one-twentieth." All of these things continue to the present day. We did not get rid of them by this inquiry. It is going on, and continuing to go on.

Following the united joint report, from which the foregoing extract is made, there are five other reports signed by different commissioners, and a draft report written by Mr. Childers before his death, in some respects the best report made. The report signed by O'Connor Don, chairman, J. E. Redmond, C. E. Martin, W. A. Hunter, and Gustav W. Wolff, says, on page 3: "Previously to the Union, it was not obligatory upon Ireland to contribute anything to objects beyond her own shores."

CHAIRMAN HOWE. I think, Mr. Ginnell, you thoroughly misunderstand the purpose of this Commission. We do not have it in mind to make any suggestions regarding the government of Ireland. What this Commission has been hearing witnesses on is conditions in Ireland today—the murders, the killings, the destruction of towns, the destruction of creameries, the continuation of civil war; and we really did not come together for hearing a lot of data on finance.

THE WITNESS. Then you will not admit it into the evidence?

CHAIRMAN HOWE. That will be all regarded if you can dictate it to the stenographer, and we will consider it in making the report.

THE WITNESS. Mr. President, the question will arise, Are we able to support an independent state? I want to prove it by the fact that England has extracted from us and will extract from us more than would support several of the states of Europe. Is not that important?

CHAIRMAN HOWE. Yes, it is important. But what we want to know are the things you have lived through.

THE WITNESS. I have not witnessed an attack, because it did not occur while I was at large. I was not free to witness it. And then when I was released, my health was shattered. I am a man who has always led an active life, and but for this unjust treatment I would be an active, energetic man today. I want to do the most I can for my country, knowing the powers and the resources that are against us. I am here for the purpose of presenting the truth about Ireland.

I want to say that it will be observed from all this that the Financial Relations Commission, in agreement with its name, deals only with money, and not with all the money relations, as it might have done, but exclusively with taxation. And in taxes alone England has robbed Ireland of 400 million pounds in excessive taxation from the Act of Union down to 1914.

There are various other ways in which Ireland suffers atrociously: the loss of manhood driven to other lands; the revenue from her land, which has been estimated by competent authority at thirteen million pounds a year; and various other losses of that kind. This is not an academic matter for me. It is a matter of life and death for those who are dearer to me than life itself.

We lose enormously by the loss of our trade. We have been wiped off the seas by England. Ireland was once a rival of England on the seas. She has not a ship now. Pass along the Blacksod Bay, a bay sheltered by a huge island from the waves of the Atlantic, so deep and so capacious that it is able to hold the whole British navy on its bosom. There is not even a fishing boat on it. Go down to Galway, which was a great trading center with Spain and other countries, even in Queen Elizabeth's time. There is not a boat on it. Even in that sheltered place of Galway Bay, there is not a single sail to be seen except England's men of war. That is an enormous loss to us. We of the Republican Government have made efforts to get boats to put the fishermen at work. And we are thwarted, and our boats are confiscated.

Q. COMMISSIONER MAURER. Is it the idea of your co-operation to develop along similar lines by which you developed the creameries? A. Our idea is rather to bring as much land as possible under tillage by resident owners. There are in many of the counties of Ireland large tracts of land which are untenanted and unresidential—no owners reside there at all. One of our first works will be to break up those tracts and distribute them among working people. The Congested Districts Board was established by Act of Parliament in 1897, for dealing with what was called the congested districts. Its area of operation was limited at first to the western part of the Province of Connaught. Subsequent Acts increased the scope of the board, so that at present the congested areas comprise all of Connaught and western portions of Munster and of Ulster, the whole western seaboard. This board was created for a temporary purpose, which was assumed and described to be completed within ten years—to solve the land question in the western counties where there was congestion in some districts, while there was good land untenanted in other districts. Its purpose was to slice up the land and put people upon it. That board has been in existence, not for ten years, but for twenty-three years, and in the very most congested county where its services were the most necessary, it has failed to act. If this will be relevant and agreeable to the Commission, I will just explain this. The County Mayo was like a running sore on the face of Ireland. All the people were crowded on gravelly, hilly, and barren land, while large tracts of good land were without a resident on them.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Unfertile land? A. Unfertile land. I went down there in the autumn of 1917. I was invited down there because I have spent almost my whole life on the question of the land. I stopped at Westport town and drove out to a mountainous district to the southern part of County Mayo. I drove through plenty of good land without inhabitants. I got onto a bog road covered with heather, which not even cattle will eat—it is used for bedding only. I drove on for miles, and came to the unfortunate village concerned. It was a village of fifty-two families up on a mountainside where nothing grew but heather and rushes. The people came down to meet me. The landlord also came down with them—a quite unusual thing, for he was a poor man, too. There was not a thing growing that a beast could eat. There were a few sheep, a few asses, and a few goats. What was up in the cabins I do not know. The landlord, John O'Dowd, came up to me and asked me if I was going to attack him. I said no, I was not going to attack any man. I wanted only justice. He said, "I am willing to sell. There (pointing to the right) is a tract of good land purchased by the Congested Districts Board fifteen years ago for distribution, but it is held by the board and let out to grazers and to pasture instead of being distributed." On the right was Lord Lucan's estate and on the left was Lord Sligo's estate, bought up by this board. The board bought up this good land and would not distribute it. He did not know why. I found out afterwards why it was not distributed. He said, "I want to sell my land and get rid of it, for it is a terrible worry. Otherwise I must turn the people out and burn their houses." "Very well," I said, "we will see what the board will do." I dictated on the mountainside to the shorthand writer, a memorial to the district board, a very respectful memorial but very strong in

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the facts. The landlord was the first to sign that memorial. It was signed by all the fifty-two tenants, one by one. Was not that a strong memorial? It called on the board for distribution of the land bought up and held by the board for fifteen years, and still held by the board. I went back to Dublin the next day and met two officials of the board. One was a towering bully named Henry Doran. He took up the attitude of a bully, of abuse and insult. He used the language of the old landlord class of the worst type. The other member of the board was Mr. Meeks, who stayed with me—a very pleasant man to speak with. But he said, "We cannot do what you want. The Government will not allow us. It will not give us cash for the purpose, although it is bound by Act of Parliament to do it." So he politely told me that nothing would be done. Mr. Doran today is Sir Henry Doran, and Mr. Meeks is still Mr. Meeks. That is the way a kindly attitude toward the people is rewarded. The population on the mountainside is still without land.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. What was the motive for non-action? A. Mr. Meeks told me the Government refused to advance the necessary money.

Q. COMMISSIONER MAURER. What were they using the land for then—grazing purposes? A. Yes, for grazing purposes.

Q. Whose cattle? A. The owners of the cattle in all probability did not live in the same county.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. The land board bought the land for grazing purposes and turned it over to some friends of theirs for grazing. Is this the explanation? A. That is the explanation to some extent.

Q. COMMISSIONER MAURER. Then the land was lying idle? A. Yes, so far as tillage was concerned. Instead of benefiting the poor people in the congested districts, it was turned over to the friends of the board for grazing purposes. The excuse was that they could not slice the land up in small holdings because they had no more money. I should have said that in my memorial I offered on behalf of the poor tenants to take the land at its full value and not require houses to be built upon it, if that was the difficulty, and to work the land from their present cabins until they were able to make some money and build houses for themselves. I made it wholly unnecessary for the Government to advance money to build houses.

It is only just to these poor people to say that in all my travels through Ireland I never met a more sweet-mannered people than those people on this mountainside. They were beautiful in appearance and sweet and kind in manner, and they never asked me to put a thing in that memorial but what was strictly in accord with justice and equity. They, of course, have never been able to make a living from their mountain holdings at all. They have been migratory laborers to England and Scotland. That position becomes more difficult as the relations between the two countries become more strained. As migratory laborers they receive the least possible consideration. They are housed in a terrible way—in a way often exposed in Parliament as a violation of all sanitary laws. But they bear their treatment and make a little money and go back. What could they do but go out of that country, where they were denied an existence before their eyes, to another country where there was opportunity?

In that same visit to County Mayo I visited a district where I found a farm comprising the very best land in that part of the county, 5,000 acres, owned and grazed by one man named Carson. Not a solitary day's work given on that land to anybody. Five thousand acres in the possession of one man, after the Congested Districts Board has been more than twenty years in existence for the special purpose of solving that problem.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Are most of the owners of the large estates Englishmen? A. Oh, no, not necessarily.

Q. They are Irishmen as well as Englishmen? A. Yes, Irishmen as well as Englishmen. These ranches are usually rented.

Q. Who is the ultimate owner? A. Some corporation.

Q. Is it a case of alien landlordism? A. Oh, no. Alien landlordism is a thing of the past.

Q. How many acres are held in these big estates? Does it run into the thousands of acres? Or does it reach the hundred thousands? A. Oh, no, the island is not big enough for that. I should inform the Commission that there was no vacant spot in Ireland that was not occupied in days gone by. It was occupied, and then cleared off by each succeeding famine.

Q. You have spoken about these large estates in County Mayo. What per cent of the land is held in this district in these large estates? A. I am afraid, sir, that you have missed the point. The point was that the Congested Districts Board has existed to relieve congestion, and it has not done it. If you want to ask about the parts of Ireland that need such relief other than this particular district, I am equally ready to answer. In Meath, in my own county of West Meath, and in Kildare—there are three counties lying side by side: land that within the memory of living men used to be great wheat land is now lying absolutely untilled.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Grazing land now? A. All grazing.

Q. A great part of the county is grazed? A. A great part of the county is grazed, and always the best land—land that you could cut like cheese; land without a stone in it—beautiful land.

Q. Is a third of the land of Ireland held out of cultivation that way? A. It would be hard to say. I do not suppose that much. But so much of it is the best land.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. I suppose you are offering this evidence to show the misgovernment of Ireland, and that the administration of this law has been in the hands of people who have not administered it. A. Yes, sir, indeed. Along the line of misgovernment, your remark reminds me of a very curious thing. We maintain that apart from money and apart even from property the people are a country's greatest wealth.

COMMISSIONER WALSH. They ought to be more the concern of government than the property.

THE WITNESS. Yes. It is a policy that has been pursued, and therefore must be the doctrine held by English rulers of Ireland, because over and over again the policy has been a continuity, to destroy the Irish race. Lord French stated two years ago in public that "What is amiss with Ireland today is that there are 200,000 young men too many in it." What would be thought in a properly self-governed country of the head of the government giving expression to such a sentiment? There are 200,000 young men too many in Ireland! Whereas England in the year 1913 was taking out of Ireland eleven million pounds in annual taxation, she is taking out of Ireland now forty-three million pounds. Most of that money is spent for imperial purposes in different parts of the world. It is not being spent for Ireland. And all men, Catholics, Protestants, Unionists, Republicans, and whatever they may be, know that they and their families and their posterity will be better off when all that money is spent within the shores of Ireland.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Now, Mr. Ginnell, have you something that you want to dictate to the stenographer? A. I am very sorry that I have not been able to develop all phases of this question. With regard to religious friction, I have been handed today an extract from the New York *World* to the effect that a Jew has been ill-treated in Dublin. Now, I want to emphatically deny, not with any special knowledge, but with a knowledge of what England is doing, that any Irishman has persecuted any person whatever on account of creed or race. To this day, no one can point out to me any single instance where anyone has been ill-treated in Ireland on account of religion or race in Gaelic Ireland, in Catholic Ireland. There have been things developed in Belfast which I do not want to touch upon, but the aggression there is not on our side. In the time of Queen Mary, she drove Protestants out of England when she wanted to drive England over to Catholicism, and they came over to Ireland for safe refuge. The Quakers were driven out of England, and they came over to Ireland and established a school at Ballitore in County Kildare which became famous for having given a portion of his education to Edmund Burke.

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Testimony of Mrs. Annot Erskine Robinson

Mrs. Robinson, a resident of Manchester, England, went to Ireland last October as a member of a commission of ten organized by the English Section of the Women's International League. The object of this League is to establish the principle of cooperation in international affairs and discovering other ways for settling disputes besides war. The commission, apart from studying the general conditions in Ireland, paid particular attention to the sufferings of women and children. On its return it made a report of its findings and organized a large number of demonstrations in the principal English cities, with the object of bringing to the attention of the English people the state of affairs in Ireland. In the course of Mrs. Robinson's testimony before the Commission in Washington the fact was brought out that vexatious obstacles had been placed in the way of her and Miss Wilkinson's coming to America, the American Consul at Manchester refusing to visa the passports which had been promptly issued by the English Foreign Office except on their definite promise that they would not address meetings, engage in any propaganda, or grant any interviews while in America. Much of Mrs. Robinson's early testimony before the Commission was occupied with defining the position of the English press and of prominent English liberals on the Irish question. The latter all agree in demanding a reconsideration of the Government's Irish policy and in favoring some settlement on the basis of granting self-determination to the Irish people. Tracing the development of public opinion in England at the present time, the witness said:

In 1914, before the war, when the Home Rule Bill was placed on the statute books, although it was never made operative at that time, you had Sir Edward Carson and F. I. Smith, now our Lord Chancellor, who were the recognized leaders of the Ulsterites, protesting in the name of the people in the six counties (it was six at that time; now it is four), that they would not accept separation from Great Britain. And you had at that time the Ulster Volunteers very effectively armed and drilled. You had up in northeast Ulster a very well drilled and disciplined and armed body of troops. The arms, as you know, were obtained partly from big firms in Britain and partly from Germany when you had the gun-running at Larne; and at that time the lawlessness in Ireland was all in the northeast of Ulster. And lawlessness in Ulster at that time had the support of a certain proportion of the aristocracy and the Conservative Party, which represented the aristocracy in Great Britain. When you talk of the northeast Ulster situation, you must realize that a large section of Conservative and aristocratic opinion in England upheld them in their open rebellion against the Home Rule Bill. They imported arms and got ready to fight against its enforcement. And then came the war.

Redmond, in the name of Ireland, called upon Ireland in the British Parliament to fight for the right of small democracies. And then after that very little about Ireland appeared in our newspapers. Naturally, the war occupied the attention of the great mass of people in Great Britain, because, of course, the war came into our work and family life, perhaps more than it did in this country. And after that came the 1916 Rebellion. Before the 1916 Rebellion the Sinn Fein movement was not a movement whose existence was recognized by many people in Great Britain. It was a literary movement, an educational movement. It was not, to the knowledge of most people, a political movement. And then after the Rebellion you had the execution of the leaders, which was protracted over a good many days.

Q. COMMISSIONER WOOD. It aroused a great deal of feeling in Ireland, but not in England? A. It aroused a great feeling in England, especially in Labor circles, and outside of Labor circles, too.

Q. SENATOR WALSH. It almost immediately made Ireland Sinn Fein? A. Yes, it gave support to the growth of the Sinn Fein demand for absolute independence in Ireland. Before 1914 there was very little talk of absolute independence in Ireland. After the 1916 Rebellion and the executions in Ireland, the demand for independence assumed very much greater importance, and the Sinn Fein movement spread. Then in 1917 and 1918 there were many arrests of people suspected of disloyal opinion.

Q. SENATOR WALSH. How were these people treated? What method of trial did they get? A. Well, that is answered by this summary which I have prepared: In the year 1917 no policeman was killed, but the police and military raided private houses and arrested 394 persons for political opinions, deported 24 persons without charge or trial, suppressed meetings and newspapers, and killed several civilians.

In the year 1918 no police were killed. One hundred and ten political arrests took place. Seventy-seven were deported without trial. Fairs and markets were suppressed, and five civilians were killed.

Q. COMMISSIONER WOOD. When you say five civilians were killed do you mean that they were killed by the Government forces? A. Yes, or by the police in skirmishes. In Ireland the police go about heavily armed. They are always a half-militarized force.

Q. COMMISSIONER THOMAS. May I go back to the question from which we started? About the development of British opinion: what was happening in Great Britain? A. After the armistice in 1918 we had a general election in December, 1918, and the Commission ought to bear in mind that this election resulted in the adoption of the Irish policy of Sir Edward Carson, which since then has been very considerably modified. In 1919 you had very definitely the Irish Parliament elected and the Irish members of Parliament refusing to come to the British House of Commons, setting up an independent Parliament of its own committed very definitely to Irish independence; while you had the Coalition Government committed to Sir Edward Carson's policy. And the suppressions went on in Ireland.

Q. MR. MANLY. Would it be accurate to say that the result of that 1918 election was that the Ulster policy secured control of the British Government and that the Sinn Fein policy secured control of the situation in Ireland? A. Yes, the Sinn Fein policy secured the support of 82 per cent of the electorate of Ireland, further confirmed by the elections of January, 1920. The shooting of police did not begin until January, 1919; and the claim is made that the policemen attacked were policemen who had been especially active in hunting down Sinn Feiners.

Q. COMMISSIONER THOMAS. Would it be true to say that war psychology determined that election; that the cry was to make Germany pay the cost of the war and hang the Kaiser, but the result was reaction in England? A. Yes, that is what happened. But for myself I should not put it so crudely. I don't think that the average English elector in that election gave a thought to Ireland. I don't think that one elector out of a hundred was concerned with Ireland at all. But the master minds behind the election were. And that, therefore, when those atrocities began in Ireland, the average Britisher had no clew whatever as to why those atrocities should begin. And to the average British mind there is a very great repugnance to secret murder—that is, murder in lonely places. The average Britisher, however brutal he might be, would not resort to secret murder. And then when in 1919 those secret murders began, it created a state of feeling against Ireland which still continues.

Our newspapers had been very reticent about what was happening in Ireland. We did not see why the situation in Ireland should be so desperate, why policemen were being shot, why these outrages occurred. Of course, the ordinary people thought we were treating Ireland quite well, and could not understand.

Beginning with January, 1919, you had a number of great movements of troops over to Ireland heavily armed. Those troops began the raids and the hunting up of Sinn Feiners. Then you had the complete breakdown of the British Govern-

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ment over the greater part of Ireland, and the growth of the Sinn Fein Government, until you really have today two governments in Ireland, the Sinn Fein Government and the British Government. And you have this policy of atrocities and reprisals. That is the situation now.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. Will you just give your own experiences in Ireland now? A. Yes, I think that will be best. While our commission was there we interviewed a good many people, a considerable number of Belfast city councilors, leaders of the Unionist Party. The cooperative movement being very strong in that part of Ireland, we devoted a fair amount of time and attention to its leaders. Then we interviewed a considerable number of the Expelled Workers' Committee, and also a number of representative citizens, so as to get an all-around view of the situation. In Belfast we saw a great number of soldiers, heavily armed, and many heavily armed constables. Every town you come to is an exhibition of military force. From all of those sources we got a pretty consecutive narrative as to what had been happening recently in Belfast. There was agreement as to facts, but there was not agreement as to the deductions from the facts. In the local elections last spring in Belfast, which were held under the proportional representation act, for the first time a breach was made in the domination of the Unionist Party in the city council. Out of sixty councilors elected, twenty-five represented Nationalists and Labor and Sinn Fein and Socialist opinion—twenty-five out of sixty.

Up to this time there had been an unquestioned domination of the Unionists. This was a great section of different opinion which appeared to act more or less together as a group. The reasons which were given for this very extraordinary change in public opinion in Belfast were rather conflicting.

During the war there was a period of very great industrial activity in Belfast. You had then linen mills and shipyards working as hard as they could work. You had many new people coming into Belfast during the war period. You had an infiltration of people with new ideas. And I think this infiltration of people with new ideas had very much to do with the change in the Belfast situation at the last election of the city council. Aside from that has been the great activity among labor unions in Belfast. In Belfast the workers are well organized—unions like the engineers, or the carpenters and joiners, or the big unskilled workers' union, or the electrical workers' union—bodies having their headquarters in England. And in the spring of 1919 there was a strike carried through in Belfast for a forty-four hour week; and in that strike the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Unionists and the Nationalists stood side by side. The unions for the first time were able to get united action between the workers of Belfast. That in my mind is an important factor—the very great growth of trade unions and labor feeling, as evidenced in the elections.

And then, as well as that, there was a great growth of national feeling. The Unionist began to feel himself an Irishman before he was a Unionist; and he was very nearly as critical of the English Government as the Nationalists—for different reasons he was extremely critical of the English Government. I mean Unionists in politics. Perhaps Orangemen would be better. The Orangeman was as critical of the English Government as was the Nationalist; and the Orangeman was beginning to realize that he was an Irishman as well as the Nationalist. The growth of a feeling of nationalism in Ireland is perhaps best indicated by the local elections of 1920, which left only four counties in northeast Ulster with a Unionist majority.

Q. SENATOR WALSH. Out of how many? A. Nine. And you know that in the Home Rule Bill before Parliament at the present time a separate parliament is to function for four counties of Ulster instead of six counties comprising the Unionist stronghold. To these Unionist counties Fermanagh and Tyrone have been added by the bargaining of Sir Edward Carson, although they are not Unionist counties. They are Nationalist counties with farmer constituencies. These six counties are coming under the Ulster Parliament because there is a very real danger that when that Ulster Parliament is set up, you will have a majority of the Labor Party in the Ulster Parliament. Fermanagh and Tyrone have been included to be sure you will have an Ulster Parliament which labor cannot control.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. Those two counties are not Unionist? A. No. Politically they are Nationalist, but economically they are capitalist and not labor, because of their agricultural holdings. And when the division comes between capital and labor, Tyrone and Fermanagh can be depended upon for some time to support the capital side rather than the labor side. When this Home Rule Bill was being discussed in the House of Commons Sir Edward Carson insisted that this Parliament should have no power to make a levy on capital. The point I wish to make is that Carsonism and Unionism are becoming the stronghold of capitalism and aristocratic feeling; but their hold is being threatened by the growth of trade unionism.

As a result of these twenty-five people being returned to the Belfast city council who were not Orangemen open threats of retaliation were made by the Orange leaders. That was in June. And then July 12 came, which is the anniversary of William III's crossing of the Boyne, and very often you have riots at that time. Citizens of Belfast told me that they looked forward with sickening apprehension of what might happen at that time, because of the great tension of this local election. But when July 12 came there was no trouble, no riots at all. But on July 21st riots occurred in the great shipyards of Belfast. The shipyards stand on an island and are separated from the mainland by a channel 200 feet wide. On July 21 inflammatory speeches were made by speakers at the gates of the shipyards, and immediately after that the Orange workers turned upon their Nationalist fellow-workers and expelled something like 4,000 of them from the yards. Some of the men tried to swim the channel, but were met by stones on the other side so that they could not land and had to come back. Some of them spent hours in the water. Some of them, of course, were killed. This strike spread to the linen mills, where the Orange workers also expelled their Nationalist fellow-workers. This went on until, when I was in Belfast in October, more than 20,000 expelled workers and their families were living on relief. That is, for more than four months they had been refused the elemental right to earn a living because of their political views.

We have been asked in Great Britain to regard those riots in Belfast as an expression of religious and sectarian bitterness. Our people have read reports in their newspapers that the Protestants have expelled the Roman Catholics. The point I wish to make is that, although those riots are no new thing in Belfast, they were this time much more political than ever before. People were not expelled because they were Roman Catholics. They were expelled because they were Nationalists or Labor or Socialists in their point of view. The point should not be overlooked that more and more the Orange employee is becoming a supporter of capitalism as against the classes of labor.

And then that night, on July 21, there were more riots. In Belfast you have had the custom of Protestants living in certain parts of the town and Catholics living in other parts. During the six years of the war that custom had been broken down, because of the incoming of so many new workers, and the people were much more mixed up. That night the women in one of these quarters heard about the riots that had occurred in the shipyards, and the rumor reached them that 200 men had been drowned in the channel. The women armed themselves with stones and waited for the men coming back from work. They stoned the tram cars continuously, and many of the men were injured. And riots of this kind between Orangemen and Nationalists, between Catholics and Protestants, have sporadically occurred ever since July 21 in Belfast.

Q. COMMISSIONER MAURER. You said that during the war labor was well organized in Belfast? A. Yes.

Q. Are they still well organized? A. Well, you see, this is the most extraordinary condition you have in Belfast—the most extraordinary situation I know of. You had carpenters and

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joiners working side by side, some Nationalist and some Unionist, who were members of the same labor union. And then you had members of the same union expelling other fellow-workmen and denying them the right of earning a livelihood, which of course is an elemental right.

Q. COMMISSIONER THOMAS. Was not the feeling that some of them were going to lose their jobs at the back of it? A. Probably, but it was not a dominant factor.

Q. If employment had continued as it was during the war, would there have been any riots? A. I asked that, and I was assured that the shipyards were still very busy making up for the ravages of the submarines. I asked that, and I was told that there was no great unemployment in Belfast.

Q. But you would think that the employers would not want such a situation. A. Yes, but the excess profits tax entered in. Their profits were being taken from them.

Q. COMMISSIONER WOOD. Did you get any information from employers that there is a danger that they were raising something they would not be able to handle later on? A. No. But there is this: that in some of the shipyards there have been established by the Orange workers what are known as Vigilance Committees. Those Vigilance Committees meet on the firm's time. They meet in rooms provided by the firm. And they discuss on what grounds a workman may be allowed to earn a living. They ask a workman to produce his baptismal certificate, or the baptismal certificate of his children or wife, for that matter, so that he must be beyond suspicion. If the employers are willing to provide the time and accommodations for these workmen to make these investigations, it shows a great deal of sympathy behind them from the employers.

Q. Do you know whether the labor unions still exist in these places? A. The labor unions are in a very, very difficult position. They still exist, and the national headquarters are very much concerned with the situation. The Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, which is one of our very old and very well organized trade unions, has been particularly active in this matter. When the expulsions took place, the national executive came over and had a sitting in Belfast. They called a meeting of the whole trade in Belfast. The carpenters and joiners, of course, are a very important part of shipbuilding, and have a large number of well-paid workers. They called a meeting and engaged a hall to consider the situation. And the meeting was prohibited by the competent military authorities. The meeting was prohibited and could not be held. They again tried to hold a meeting and failed. And now they have taken a ballot. They said that if some of the members were to be called out, all must be expelled. Those who remained at work are now regarded as scabs and blacklegs, and are not entitled to further union work. That is how they have dealt with the situation. I don't think there is anyone more unhappy in Belfast than the average trade union official. He is in a very difficult situation.

I think I ought to say that also in Belfast we interviewed several Orange leaders and tried to ascertain their point of view, why this sectarian bitterness had been continued so long, and why we could not achieve peace between the different sections, and we were told that Belfast was the largest city in Ireland; that it had the largest shipyards, the largest distilleries and factories, and various things of that kind. And the next thing they always said was that it had the lowest rates, ten shillings to the pound, compared with sixteen shillings in Dublin, and that that, of course, was because Belfast was a city of successful business men. They felt that the people of Dublin had no business capacity; and if the country was to be governed from Dublin, the country would be ruined within five years. I tried to point out that I have been very much interested in the tuberculosis problem; I was interested in education and in the wages of women, and so forth; and that I have always heard that you have a very high rate of death from tuberculosis in Belfast—I think it is the highest in the British Isles; and a very high rate of infant mortality, and very low wages to women. And that I thought it would be better to raise the rates and get rid of these things. Yet the fact remains that the average Orangeman thinks that Belfast is a very prosperous city, and that its rates are low, and for this reason they will not be joined with the rest of Ireland. And then one later proceeded to say that they would wade knee-deep in blood before they would be associated with the rest of Ireland. Orangeism in Belfast is becoming more and more associated with capitalism, with the money interests, with the big employing class.

Q. COMMISSIONER NEWMAN. Did these Orange leaders also bring out that they were afraid of religious domination by the rest of Ireland? A. Yes, of course. But I was surprised to find that it was much more an economic question than the question of religious domination when you talked to them in private. In Belfast, again, there has been a very great deal of destruction of homes in raids. A very great part of the city has been destroyed, or else burned out. You have public houses looted and burned, and shops looted and burned. You have had a very great deal more destruction of property in Belfast—mostly these workingmen's homes—than I had thought of. The result was that you had two or three families crowd into one house. Housing conditions were very bad in Belfast before. The overcrowding that has been caused by this destruction of property has caused a very serious situation indeed. And then into Belfast have gone the refugees from Lisburn.

Q. COMMISSIONER WOOD. Would this overcrowding in Belfast be confined to one quarter, or would it be general? A. No, to a great extent it would be in the Nationalist quarters, since the houses were destroyed there.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Are you convinced that soldiers and police armed by the authority of the Government have committed brutalities against innocent women and children? A. Oh yes, quite. These houses were burned and women very sick and very ill and children were turned out on a moment's notice; women in bed connected with childbirth, and things of that kind. Some horrible things have occurred—perfectly dreadful.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Who administers the relief in Belfast? A. The relief is administered by what is called the Expelled Workers' Committee. They have collected money all over Britain. An enormous amount of money has been contributed all over Britain. The representatives of those committees have visited a good many of our trades councils in Britain and laid the position of these workmen who are not allowed to work before their fellow trades unionists. And very large contributions have come in this way.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Has not this situation that you have described in Belfast had a tendency to extend the Sinn Fein influence even further than it was? A. Undoubtedly, but public opinion in England is only beginning to wake up.

In addition to Belfast I also visited Lisburn, a very prosperous linen town just outside of Belfast. In September of this year District Inspector Swanzy was in Lisburn. When Mayor MacCurtain was murdered in Cork, the Sinn Fein organization and the local authorities, I believe, through such evidence as they could get of the murder and the attempt on Professor Stockley, found out who some of the parties responsible were. The police who took part in the murder of the Lord Mayor have been tracked down by Sinn Fein. I was told that District Inspector Swanzy was one of these persons. After Mayor MacCurtain's death Swanzy was removed from Cork and sent to Lisburn. He was coming out of one of the chief Protestant churches in Lisburn one Sunday when three motor cars came up filled by men who were veiled, by men who were strangers to the district. They held up the congregation and District Inspector Swanzy was shot dead as he was coming out of church. In that district you had a mixed population, an Orange population and a Catholic population. The Orange population rose against the Catholic inhabitants of the town and the Sinn Fein and Nationalist leaders and burned their houses, although the murder was admittedly committed by men who were strangers in the town. The town burned Sunday night and a large part of Monday, and no attempt was made to extinguish the flames,

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although Lisburn is quite near Belfast, and the skies were lit up for miles around. As we walked into the town our attention was directed to a poster on which the ink was absolutely fresh and new. It was on the morning of October 13. That notice said:

"The Scriptures said, 'An eye for an eye.' But we say, three lives for every life of a member of the forces of the Crown who may be killed or injured on the streets of Lisburn."

As we walked through Lisburn we saw remnants of the same notice. It had been posted that morning, and had been pulled down by the police. Standing at the top of its main street, we looked around and down on the town. And I should say that one house out of three had been destroyed. Some of them were simply heaps of stone, and from other homes the walls and windows were gone. The picture was one of absolute devastation. I wanted to find out what had happened to all the women and children expelled from this town. I went back to the Expelled Workers' Relief Committee in Belfast and asked to see them. I was taken to a long hall in Falls Road operated by Catholic sisters. There were three long rows of beds, and sitting on the edges of them were some of the women who had been driven out of those houses in Lisburn. I spoke to one old woman of seventy, very infirm, who never had any bad words with her neighbors, and who was driven out of her house and could not get permission to take a thing with her. All her possessions, the accumulations of a lifetime, were lost in her house. I spoke to another woman, a widow with four children; and to another one who had lost all. Those people were absolutely the most hopeless looking lot of people I have ever seen. I wish I could convey to this Commission the saddening depression that the sight of those women gave to me. And then the children.

Testimony of Miss Ellen C. Wilkinson

Miss Wilkinson, a resident of Manchester, England, is national organizer for the Amalgamated Union of Cooperative Employees, but before the American Commission she represented only the Women's International League. Like Mrs. Robinson, she was a member of the commission which the English Section of the League had sent to Ireland in October of last year.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. Miss Wilkinson, will you begin and make the statement that you had outlined of your experiences in Ireland? A. Well, I thought it might be better if I divided my evidence into sections, one section on the economic blockade of Ireland, one on the raids, lootings, and sackings, and one on the southern Unionists, with whom I took a great deal of care to get in touch. I might say that with two members of the Society of Friends, I covered Dublin, Limerick, Galway, and Tuam; and then on up the west coast of County Clare to Ennistymon, and to Cork and Mallow. When we went to Limerick we found that the proposition of traveling on the Irish railways was very difficult indeed, and we motored over a good deal of western Ireland.

Q. What date was that? A. The first two weeks of October, 1920. We returned October 17. First of all, as to the policy of the British Government in Ireland. It seemed to us that there was a policy behind the Government's economic blockade of Ireland. Lord French, the Viceroy of Ireland, made a speech in which he said that the trouble was that there were 200,000 too many young men in Ireland. He assumed that these young men and women, many of whom had gone to fight in the war, with which they were not very sympathetic, were the cause of all the trouble. And I learned that it was the policy of the British Government to get the young men out of the way.

There is another thing. At the beginning of the war agriculture in Ireland was more prosperous than it ever was before. They had developed dairy farming and cattle-raising for the English market. And of course, during the war we were rather more polite to Ireland than we have been since; for Ireland could have blockaded us and could have made a very serious difference to our food supply if she had wanted to. Since the war Ireland has of course not been very important in that respect.

First of all regarding agriculture. When I was in West Clare and Limerick there was a wholesale burning of hay ricks. That was extremely important, because on the hay ricks depended the cattle, and hence the creameries. In burning the hay ricks, you destroyed the very foundations of Irish agricultural prosperity. It was said by the British military authorities that these were reprisals against Sinn Feiners; but that was not so. There was a great deal of difficulty, too, in importing cattle fodder. I have with me a clipping from the *Irish Independent* of October 8, 1920, in which it is stated from a Belgian paper that the British Controller General had issued a proclamation against the importation of cattle fodder into the United Kingdom, and that that prohibition of importation was absolute against Ireland. The Irish farmers, after their own hay had been burned, had been importing cattle fodder from England. That meant that they could not get feed for their cattle at any price. Another very serious blow to the agricultural prosperity of Ireland was the prohibition of fairs and markets which were felt by the British Government to be breeding-grounds for sedition. However that might be, they were also the ordinary mediums of exchange, where the British buyers got into touch with the sellers of Irish cattle. And that, of course, made the situation of the farmer a great deal more difficult. The next thing was the importation of cattle. I interviewed a number of the most prominent employers of Limerick in this industry. One was Mr. O'Mara, a prominent member of the Irish Party in the British Parliament. He has one of the largest bacon-curing factories in Limerick, and he told me that the average killing of pigs there had been two thousand a week, and that since the blockade they were able to get only six hundred. And he said that the reason for that was that when his buyers went around the country they could not go to the markets because these had been suppressed, and they had to go to the individual farmers. They had been shown telegrams by the Irish station masters on the Irish railways that no cattle or pigs could be received. This resulted in much unemployment.

Then Limerick was a large milling center. The ships which were bringing flour to Limerick were diverted north. Mr. O'Mara said that he was under the impression that the big business interests in Belfast had a big trade hold on the Dublin Government, and that they were able to cut off supplies from southern firms. He knew that the pigs he wanted to buy were being diverted north, and that the flour his mills needed was being diverted north. And he felt that the big business interests of the north had the aid of the Government in diverting the flour and the bacon they needed in Limerick. That, of course, again caused unemployment—the flour being diverted north.

Then comes the railway situation, which is one of the most serious unemployment situations Ireland has to face. As you know, the British Council of Action, as the result of the British railwaymen's action, has decided that it would not ship munitions of war to Poland to aid in the war against Russia. The Irishmen applied that to their own country, and said they would not engage in the shipment of arms or armed troops in order that the Irish war could go on. That for a time was effective. But a sort of modus vivendi was arrived at, and the policy of the Government was changed. The munitions were sent by road. The Ministry of Transportation, under Sir Eric Geddes, carried this policy through, and determined that this could not go on, and that the Irish railwaymen must carry whatever they were given to carry. And therefore an arrangement was made between the British Ministry of Transportation and the Irish railway companies, which of course are dependent on Government subsidies, because the Government took over all the railroads during the war and gave them a subsidy to make up their profits from. This arrangement was that any railwayman or guard who refused to carry munitions on an Irish train should be dismissed when he reached the end of his journey. It has been only a question of time as to how soon the railways in

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Ireland should be completely stopped. I know once or twice when we were traveling on the main line from Dublin to Galway, soldiers got on the train; and if they got on bearing arms, the Irish railwaymen would not carry them. But if they had no arms, the railwaymen would carry them. For instance, Limerick, which is the most important commercial center on the west of Ireland, had only one train a day into and one train a day out of it, and you could not tell when that would run. And sometimes it wouldn't run at all. The only train you could depend on was the one o'clock train on Sunday, on which soldiers did not ride. And of course business men know what such a situation means to trade.

The stopping of the trains meant a serious lack of food supply for the larger towns. The Irish, of course, tried to meet this by organizing a motor transport, as the English Government had done at the time of the railway strike. And this was immediately replied to by a government order refusing to allow the free use of motor transport. No person was allowed to drive or have a motor without a motor license. And it is impossible—not theoretically but practically it is impossible—for a Sinn Feiner to get a license. And the O'Mara people again, who are wealthy people in Dublin, got a new car; and as soon as they had it delivered, a British officer appeared and took away the important parts of it. He apologized, but said he had to demobilize the car. It was only with the greatest difficulty that we could get a motor to do our work. That means that the railway transport is shut down and the motor transport is shut down. And that means an economic blight upon the country. Is that clear?

Q. COMMISSIONER NEWMAN. You spoke about the burning of hay ricks. Have you any idea of how extensive that is? A. While we were there, all the hay ricks from Limerick up the coast to Ennistymon were burned. And since we got back, in Galway and Tipperary, too. It is not true that all the hay ricks in Ireland have been burned, as some have said. But an enormous quantity has been lost.

Q. SENATOR NORRIS. What organization did the burning? A. The Black and Tans.

Q. COMMISSIONER WOOD. How much of this did you see yourself? A. Well, of course I saw a fair amount of hay burning.

Q. Actually burning? A. Yes, actually burning. When we went to Limerick, for instance, we were taken to Brennan's farm, five miles out of Limerick. It was owned by a widow. Her two sons were heroes in the countryside. One of them, Michael Brennan, is chairman of the Clare county council. Of course they are both on the run. And the English officers, rightly or wrongly, put down many of the occurrences in this community to them. So the English officers went to the house, told Mrs. Brennan to get out immediately, and burned the house and the hay.

Q. COMMISSIONER WOOD. Was it only a rumor that the Black and Tans did that, or did you actually see them? A. No, of course, I didn't see them. Only in Cork was I actually in a scrap myself. All these things went on at night, and you saw the evidence the next morning. But everybody in the country declares it was the work of the Black and Tans.

Then another question is Irish industry as apart from Irish agriculture. The question of Irish industries is important in this sense. I dare say a good many people here have read the books on the Irish renaissance and the new life that was just springing up before the war. The great idea of the Irish patriarchs was to start industries in the villages in order that young men and women might be kept in the villages and keep Irish life alive. That led to the encouragement of manufactures and the cooperative creameries movement. The creameries, of course, were started by the Irish Agricultural Organization Society under Sir Horace Plunkett. And the idea was, instead of having the difficulties and waste under the individual farmer trading system, to collect the milk and produce of the farmers, and make it into butter or condensed milk or any of the various dairy products. Now, these creameries were very largely cooperative. There were a few capitalist ones, but most of them were built by the farmers themselves. They would raise money on their land and put it together and buy the machinery. And these creameries gave a great deal of employment, especially to the women in the countryside. Also there were such mills as the hosiery mills at Balbriggan and various other mills. Then just at the beginning of the war there was a very important commission known as the Industrial Development Commission started, which was later made an official commission by Dail Eireann. And their idea was to map out Ireland and consider just where they could start industries. Darrel Figgis was head of this commission; and he was arrested, of course, and the documents of the commission confiscated, and the movement crushed.

The terrible thing is that a great many of the Irish people feel that this crushing of the new industrial movement and the burning of creameries and factories is part of England's policy toward Ireland. And the Irish people have much to support their view. Edward Lysgant started a cooperative industry near Limerick—a very interesting man who was on the run and managed all this business during the day. He was trying to raise up a feeling for peasant crafts, and to get a market for them. And all his works were burned down. That was pretty rotten.

Q. COMMISSIONER THOMAS. Is there any chance of getting compensation for the loss of these creameries? A. Yes, that comes under the Malicious Injuries Act, and according to that the people who suffer the loss appeal to the courts, and the damages are assessed upon the inhabitants. The result is that in Limerick, with 44,000 people, over £50,000 of damage has been done. And it meant that any person who appealed to the courts would get his damages very liberally assessed, but they had to be paid by the people.

Q. COMMISSIONER THOMAS. What explanation did Sir Hamar Greenwood give of these burnings of creameries in the House of Commons? A. First of all, he said it did not occur. And when we showed him pictures, he said it was done by the Irishmen. And when we produced evidence by eye-witnesses that they were burned by the armed forces of the Crown, he said the managers were Sinn Feiners. He also tried to prove that they were used as Sinn Fein ambushes. Well, of course, we all laughed at him, for Sir Hamar Greenwood is a kind of a joke. You see, Sir Hamar Greenwood is put in the position of either having to say that he doesn't know, or to try to explain. He has usually had to take refuge in diplomatic silence and say he doesn't know. But, of course, these creameries were not used as Sinn Fein ambushes, and many of the managers are Englishmen and have nothing to do with Sinn Fein.

With regard to Irish trade as apart from Irish industry, the two great difficulties have been the stoppage of supplies from England and the burning of business premises. With regard to the stoppage of supplies from England, the evidence is this: we were shown certain letters from English firms in reply to orders from Irish firms, stating that they could not supply Irish firms; they were sorry. And of course in September and October there were notices in English post offices saying that no one could send a parcel to Ireland, not even personal parcels to Ireland. And of course that is ruinous to trade.

And in addition the English Government is preventing free trade relations between Ireland and other countries.

Then with regard to the burning of business premises, there is a large bakery owned by a man named Daly and a large tannery owned by a man named White which we visited. These had been burned by the Black and Tans—the lower floor soaked with petrol and set fire to, and about £700 damage done. Then about the looting of shops. In Galway the Black and Tans used to hold up the public houses and get what drink they wanted merely by threatening to burn the place down. We went to a public house there called The Bow, which is just out of Galway on the north road. There there is just a girl and her mother in charge. And the police came one night after dark and locked up the girl and her mother in a room and took what drink they wanted. And

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then, of course, they took pot shots at the glasses and windows.

Then there was, in addition to this looting, the smashing of windows in business houses. And that made it difficult for business to be carried on. And then, of course, if there was a row—a pitched battle between the Crown forces and the Sinn Feiners—business houses would get the worst of that, too.

That pretty well covers what I have to say with regard to the economic blockade and its effects on industry, business, and trade. But I don't want to misuse the word blockade; to make it sound as if there had been a formally declared blockade. It is much more the cumulative effect of a policy of preventing the young men from working and preventing Dail Eireann from building up the industrial prosperity of Ireland. And the military authorities have struck everywhere at the business houses and the mills as a part of clearing Sinn Feiners, as they say, out of the country. That is all of that.

With regard to the organization of the military, it is, of course, difficult to get exact information. The military question is one of the most difficult of all. And this is the difficulty with regard to English public opinion. After all, the armed forces of the Crown in Ireland are our own men. And in any English audience to which you talk some woman will say, "Well, my husband is there." And as far as that is concerned, my own brother, a boy of eighteen, was stationed at Ennis during the latter part of the war. Therefore, I want to be fair in dealing with this question. It is difficult to make English people understand it. And it is also important for people who are looking at matters not from the standpoint of any country or any government, but from the human point of view, to realize that the military authorities in Ireland are concentrating on propaganda among these men, which is producing a mentality that makes them believe that every Irishman is a murderer. If you are going to consider the Irish problem, it seems to me that you cannot get away from the mentality of the English soldiers who are over there.

First of all, the British Government, in answer to a question that was asked in Parliament, said it was spending on the military organization in Ireland (that is, of course, apart from the Black and Tans and the police), £1,500,000 a month, which at the par rate of exchange would come to, I believe, about $90,000,000 a year. That means that there is an enormous number of soldiers in Ireland.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. They are not Black and Tans entirely, either? A. No, I am not considering the Black and Tans; they are not considered soldiers. Apart from that, there is the Royal Irish Constabulary, which was always there. The R. I. C. has always been to an Irishman an armed garrison force. The British Government always sent the southern Irishmen to the north, and the northern Irishmen to the south. There have been a large number of resignations from that organization. Then the British Government has organized the Black and Tans. There were two divisions of these. One was a flying column division. When we were motoring in West Galway, we would come across lorry loads of these men drawn up along the roadside asleep. They were not confined to barracks. They were sent out in flying columns and sent on from place to place, and got their rest along the roadside. That was to prevent them from getting in touch with the population, as the troops who are quartered in one place often do. Then there were also those which were confined to operations around barracks. They are the army auxiliary force, who get very good pay, one pound seven a day, I believe. They enlist as sergeants. They do the intelligence work and do the raids on the better-class people, like the raid on Professor Carroll in Dublin.

Q. COMMISSIONER NEWMAN. They are under the military rather than the police, are they? A. Well, of course, they are under the military now. Even the police are now.

These men are living under very bad conditions. We were told that a barracks in Dublin that would ordinarily hold 150 men was now crowded with several times that many. It is impossible for them to live very regular lives. And besides this, they are kept in a very excited state of mind. There is a publication called *The Weekly Summary* given by the British Government to the Black and Tans in Ireland, and it purports to give a list of all of the crimes of Sinn Feiners against the Government. It is, of course, a deliberate incitement to violence. Copies of this have been produced in the House of Commons, and the Government has been very severely criticized about it, but without much result.

Q. COMMISSIONER NEWMAN. You say it is a direct incitement to violence. What is published in it? A. Well, you see, Sinn Fein is not supposed to have any arms in its possession at all. You are liable to arrest if you are found with them. For this there is a continuous search for arms. And on the other hand, there is a continuous carrying of arms from one place to another—there is an "arms hunger" on the part of the Sinn Fein population. For that reason you get ambushes to get arms. The individual murders of policemen and the finding of arms are all printed in this *Weekly Summary* with—from the British point of view—appropriate comments.

The position of the British soldiers in Ireland is very difficult. They are not fighting an enemy that they can see. They are in a hostile atmosphere. They are fighting everything around them.

That is the situation. Of course, the Irish cannot fight openly because there is three million population against an Empire. And then, of course, the soldiers are in a disadvantageous position. I remember that my brother said, when he was stationed at Ennis before things were so bad, that if a soldier were set upon in any way, they were ordered to go around the streets knocking people off the pavement, and that sort of thing. The removal of the soldiers is the condition precedent to any kind of peace. For of course, while British soldiers are being shot, you cannot do anything with British public opinion. Of course the Sinn Feiners say, "Well, of course, if British soldiers were not getting shot, you would say we are all happy, and would pay no attention to us." The whole thing is a very vicious circle, as always happens when you resort to violence.

I tried to get in touch with some of the parents of the victims. You cannot always do it, because many of the Royal Irish Constabulary are single men stationed in the barracks. But in our hotel in Limerick we got in touch with a mother whose boy of eighteen had been shot in one of these raids. The English authorities said that the leaders were known and would be punished. I think her reply deserves to be quoted. She said: "I don't want Irish boys to be punished for what happened to my boy. I want the fathers to settle and put an end to this horrible work."

COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. Miss Wilkinson, you were going on to the raids and other acts of violence which you yourself saw.

THE WITNESS. Well, first of all in Limerick.

Q. You are not Irish? A. Oh no, I am from Lincolnshire. I believe I have some Irish blood from somewhere, but it happens to be Orange. With regard to Limerick. Of course, one has to realize that for each case that we investigated, a reason was given by the English press for it. That is to say, it was in the nature of a reprisal for some damage done. Brennan's near Limerick I have already described.

We saw a number of similar cases in Limerick. A man named Cain, a man with eight children, was taken out of his home, and they were going to shoot him, but his wife begged for his life, and they did not. Then when we went on to Ennistymon and Lahinch, we found a number of houses burned there. At Miltown Malbay a Captain Lendrum had been kidnapped, and the soldiers threatened reprisals if he was not returned; and his dead body was laid in a coffin and returned to them. Of course that made the soldiers very, very excited. The Catholic priest tried to intercede, but the soldiers were out of control. At Lahinch the houses were only left as a shell. The soldiers went along the street and burned every house. Then the draper's shop, which had no connection with Sinn Fein, because it was owned by a widow who was keeping her son in college, was

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burned. Then the concert hall was also burned. Then we went to Ennistymon, where the town hall was burned and a large amount of property demolished. That, of course, was a reprisal. We saw a great many farms that had been burned in the area all around.

At Galway what had happened was that a soldier was shot at the station. The Sinn Fein version of the story was that the man had been shot while shooting at civilians. I don't know. But anyway, this soldier named Krumm was shot. And then the police and soldiers went out that night and took three men out of their homes—one was named Quirk, and two others were taken out and shot. Then the town was afraid of reprisals. And they decided to hold a public inquiry and to invite the police to give evidence. Mr. Louis O'Day was the solicitor for the town, and led the case for the town.

Q. COMMISSIONER NEWMAN. Who decided to hold an inquiry? A. The municipal authorities of Galway, who were all Sinn Fein, of course. The town authorities wanted to hold this inquiry. Of course, any kind of assembly in Ireland now is illegal unless it is held with a permit. So the town tried to hold this inquiry, and soldiers came and dispersed the assembly, and Mr. Louis O'Day would not go home. But that night his home was entered and demolished; and the office of the Galway *Express* was demolished because it had printed the speech which Mr. Louis O'Day had intended to deliver at this investigation. The curfew was put on for three weeks. It was not on when this happened, for Galway had been very quiet. Following this there were a number of reprisals in Galway; houses were burned, and Mr. Walsh, who owned the Old Malt House, was taken out and killed and his body thrown into the river. I mention Galway because the excuse of the military authorities is that they cannot get a jury because, of course, no Irishman will serve on an English jury. But here was a case where there would have been an investigation by the municipal authorities of the town, but the military authorities broke it up.

Then, of course, there was the breaking up of that shop called the Bal in Galway.

Then we motored to Tuam. Tuam was in a horrible shape. The houses and shops were destroyed. I had an interview with the archbishop of Tuam. He does not want his name mentioned in any way, but he gave me certain signed statements of atrocities on civilian people, some of them by the military and Black and Tans and some by R. I. C. men. Some of these statements are in the handwriting of the parties making them. The only connection that the archbishop has with them is that of guaranteeing their authenticity; but he does not want his name mentioned with them in any way.

My friend and I went to Cork the night after the burning of the city hall. We had always come just after things had occurred, but we got to Cork at a very tense moment. We asked the driver to drive us to a hotel right near the city hall. He protested violently, but he finally took us to the Imperial Hotel right near the city hall. Curfew was at ten o'clock. We went to our room. According to law, no one is supposed to have a light or look out of the window. But we turned out our lights and wrapped ourselves up and went to the window. First of all there came the soldiers in extended formation, wearing tin helmets—the shrapnel helmets—and carrying guns with fixed bayonets. And then came three armored cars packed with soldiers. And then after them came a lorry which had petrol in it, I suppose. Those who were marching were all soldiers. They went by, and when they came back they fired into the houses at a certain level. We saw the bullet marks the next morning. That, of course, is a terrible thing. Many people have been killed on account of this indiscriminate shooting from motor lorries. And then they withdrew to the city hall. It was not blown up that night. It was blown up later. But it was an extraordinarily eerie experience, this absolutely quiet street, and then these soldiers coming along, and these bullets whizzing past your head.

Q. COMMISSIONER WOOD. How long did this last—your personal experience? A. It lasted from ten until three. There was the roaring and the shooting and the calling of "Who goes there?"

Q. COMMISSIONER NEWMAN. Was there any retaliation from the Irish people? A. Not that we could see. But there has been, of course. But that is not usually done in the towns but in the country, because it leads to such terrible reprisals.

Q. COMMISSIONER THOMAS. Did there appear to be officers in command? A. Yes, of course there were officers in command. This was a disciplined motion of troops through Cork, and the officers were very clearly with the men. As far as I know, there were no burning of houses that night. The city hall has been blown up since, but it was not done that night.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. Those were your own personal investigations, of course. A. Yes, my own personal investigations. What is happening, of course, is that whenever ambushes occur or soldiers are killed, the reprisals take place on the community immediately. What happens is that the women and children are thrown out of the house, petrol is sprayed on the house, and it is burned. One could just go on multiplying instances. They all conform to the same type.

Q. COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. Are there any questions to ask Miss Wilkinson?

THE WITNESS. I will then go on to the question of the Southern Unionists. We considered that very important, because they are three hundred thousand of the population in the south. And, of course, at one stage of the Ulster agitation great play was made of the fact that an Ulster Parliament alone would not settle the matter, because you would then leave these southern Unionists to the mercy of the Irish. That was a great point prior to 1914.

My brother happens to be a Wesleyan minister, and he gave me introductions to Wesleyan ministers in Ireland, and I had conversations with them. And I found that they entirely ridiculed the idea that the southern Unionists were in any danger from the southern population. And if you take Limerick alone, many of the most prosperous business places in Limerick are owned by Unionists. And this minister said that, generally speaking, the Irish people trusted them completely, and they had no trouble at all. They were much more fearful of what the Crown forces than what the Sinn Fein forces would do. I pressed him to know what he meant, and his wife gave this example: when they were firing one place, there was a Protestant store just opposite which had two young men, assistants, living in it (which, of course, is the custom in Ireland). And these young men came and tried to help extinguish the flames. And the British soldiers tried to set a light to their place to give them something to do in their own premises, although it was owned by a Unionist and a Protestant. And he spoke of the gun-running at Larne. And he said that gun-running was the worst mistake that the Government had made; and they could never get any peace in Ireland at all until the troops were taken out. He said that the agitation for home rule was mere sentiment on the part of the Irish, because there was no reason why they could not live as comfortably within the Empire and united to England as the Scotch. But since they would not, the only reasonable thing was to give them what they wanted.

He gave me another case that shows how the policy of the Government is turning many of the Unionists against it. There were two Protestant business men whose property was destroyed. And one of them wrote a letter to the military authorities complaining of the destruction of his property. And the response was that the officer in charge on that occasion was not quite responsible for his action since he got back from the war, that he was a little bit queer. And that was the only answer he got!

Then, with regard to the courts and the doing of justice. The Sinn Fein courts work in secret. It is not possible to get justice in the southern part of Ireland at all except through the Sinn Fein courts. At the time of the death of Lord Mayor MacSwiney the Prudential Insurance Company was actually plead-

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ing through a Sinn Fein court. I asked these men if they had ever been in a Sinn Fein court, and they said they had. One of them had a case of petty theft of some rugs that had been left outside his place, and he appealed to the Sinn Fein court to get the goods restored. They were restored, and he was told that the culprits had been punished.

All of the Unionists whom I saw in southern Ireland said that it was impossible that home rule should not come to Ireland now. They were very bitter over what they called the selfishness of Ulster; that when they saw home rule was coming, they simply wanted Ulster cut off, and left the rest of them to their fate. That, of course, has been strongly put in the House of Lords by Lord Middleton. They feel that the only thing, under the present situation, is to give Ireland dominion home rule as soon as possible.

Q. COMMISSIONER WOOD. Did you find any cases of religious intolerance on the part of the Catholic majority against the Protestant minority? A. No. That is surprising. There is no complaint of it whatever. The Methodist ministers told me to emphasize that whenever I could, that the Protestant people had always had the most courteous treatment from the Catholic population. I think that is important, because in the south there is no reason to fan the flame of religious intolerance. I interviewed the Lord Mayor of Limerick, and he said that on the relief committee formed for the unemployed workers there were both Catholics and Protestants, and that nobody in southern Ireland would ask you your religion any more than they would in England.

Q. COMMISSIONER THOMAS. May I ask about the English Government? When British labor made resolutions about self-determination, did they mean absolute self-determination or self-determination within the British Empire? A. I should say that British labor is divided on that point; the Socialists and the left wing would give Ireland absolute right to say what she wanted. But there is a very considerable, well-informed body which say that to have a lot of little nations as we have in Central Europe and Czecho-Slovakia, none of which is strong enough to maintain its independence, is simply an invitation for a stronger Power to be their master. And this section claims that Ireland would be far safer, and that we would be far safer, with her in the Empire. We do not hold Canada by force, and we do not hold Australia by force. And we could not do so. They remain in the Empire not because they have to, but because they want to remain in. And, of course, the unfortunate thing is that the policy of the militarists in Ireland and the policy of the Ulsterites is driving the Irish people to want to go out of the British Empire altogether. But whether British labor would agree to Ireland's going out of the British Empire I could not say. The general trend of the resolutions is largely to shelve that issue and get the two sides together and get something done.

Q. COMMISSIONER WOOD. In the districts in which you were, you saw a very considerable need for relief in those sections? A. Well, of course, the need for relief is simply something terrible. I was in touch with some people who were giving out the relief. These people's homes are destroyed. Everything they had was destroyed. The only thing they have is what they stand up in. They have no hope of compensation, because if they apply for compensation, it only means that their neighbors have to pay it. The situation is terrible.

Q. COMMISSIONER THOMAS. Are there any English or Scotch societies administering relief? A. No. Of course they are contributing to it very largely. There is only one exception, I believe. The Society of Friends is giving relief, and certain members of it are thinking of arousing English opinion by persuading individual English towns to adopt Irish towns. And we were opposed to that because we said that relief of that kind was simply a salve to the British conscience; and if people wanted to give relief, it should be given in justice and not in charity.

Q. COMMISSIONER WOOD. May I ask if you found in the south of Ireland any fear of Ulster domination? A. No, quite the contrary. As far as I could gather from the Sinn Fein judges and politicians, they were prepared to go to very great lengths to overcome what they called "Ulster prejudices" so long as Ulster would remain in Ireland and thus keep Ireland united. They were prepared to give Ulster any kind of government she wanted, any kind of taxation she wanted. But they wanted Ulster in Ireland because they believe, once the English influence was removed from Ulster, that in time the two sections would get together. And they feel that if Ulster has a Parliament of her own she will be controlled by England, and that will only cause further trouble in the country. But, of course, there is no fear of Ulster domination at all. The fear is on the other side. The Ulster politicians fear a Catholic domination.

Q. COMMISSIONER THOMAS. It is often said in this country in the name of England that the whole question would be simply solved were it not for Ulster; that England stands ready to give Ireland anything if only Ulster were out of the way. I don't mean to ask you whether the people who say that are sincere, but whether it really does bulk large in the minds of the English people. A. To say that is to say, Suppose that English history had been entirely different. You see, this policy has gone on for several hundred years. The policy of the British Government for all these generations has been to keep the Protestant minority in Ireland dependent entirely on England. So you have got the Pale around Ulster.

Q. May I interrupt? The Pale was Catholic until the Reformation, was it not? A. Yes, the Pale was. And there were plantations under the most Catholic Queen we ever had—Mary II. And the Pale was included then. But the O'Neals of that time came from Ulster—and Ulster is the place of the great Irish heroes. But when it came to plant Ulster, the Irish were driven off the land more completely than in any other part of the country. And so Ulster has been kept dependent on the English ascendancy, and Ireland has been kept divided most wonderfully. Of course, this is not a British policy. The policy of Divide and Govern is an old one.

Q. SENATOR WALSH. The regular imperialistic policy. A. Yes, the regular imperialistic policy.

So that you see it is quite impossible for a British statesman to get up and say, "If only the Irish could agree among themselves, we would be prepared to give whatever they wanted." The answer to that is the attitude of the Coalition Government toward the Convention.

Q. You mean the Horace Plunkett convention, for the sake of the record? A. Yes, quite. There was the Horace Plunkett Convention called by Sir Horace during the war. From what he said to us, they got far beyond their expectations in getting the Ulster leaders to admit that the Irishmen haven't horns and tails. And just as they were giving their report—the very same week Mr. Lloyd George came forward with his plan of conscription for Ireland. That was tearing up his promises to the Convention. And, of course, the whole thing fell through on that. Now, then, if the British Government were sincere that they would give Ireland what it wants if it can agree, they should not do things that make it impossible for that agreement to be reached. I think it is sincere when a good many people say it, because they do not understand the history of Ireland. I don't think it is sincere when the Coalition Government says it.

Q. COMMISSIONER WOOD. Is there a feeling that Ireland, if it were allowed to go on its own, would adopt some new experiment in government? A. I think there is that feeling very largely in England. But the much more real fear in England is that Ireland would be used by an enemy for a submarine base. It was said by the British Government that Irish creeks were used by the Germans as submarine bases during the war. I don't know how true that was. Of course, the Government says it was a German submarine that landed Sir Roger Casement. That is a real danger, I suppose. But we are doing so much harm by keeping the issue alive. Ireland can be won. We can win Ireland to friendship if we set about doing it.

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